

Theology vol 110.



A N

Historical Account

O F

Comprehension,

A N D

TOLERATION.

THE
GENERAL ACCOUNT
OF
COMPTON
AND
TOLLETT
N.



A N
Historical Account
O F
Comprehension,
A N D
T O L E R A T I O N.

From the Old *PURITAN* to the New
LATITUDINARIAN; with their continued
Projects and Designs, in Opposition to our more
Orthodox Establishment.

P A R T. II.

Casaub. Exercit. in Baron. Præf.

*Cupiditas Novandi ; hæc secum mala semper trahit, Christi incon-
sutilem tunicam Lacerat, Sectas Novas parit ; & statim Multi-
plicat, Ecclesiam & Populum concutit, &c.*

Liv.

Nec morbum ferre possumus, nec Remedium.

LONDON: Printed for J. Chantry, at *Lincolns-Inn-Back-Gate*, and
Church Simmons, Bookseller in *Nubury*. 1706.

P R I C E One Shilling and Six-Pence.

A N

Historical Account

OF

Comprehension

AND

OF THE

From the Old to the New
Orthodox Religion



Calcutta: Printed by the Government Press.

Price: One Shilling and Sixpence.

*An Historical Account of Comprehension,
and Toleration, from the Old Puritan,
to the New Latitudinarian, &c.*

WHETHER the precedent account of those *Foreign Novelties, Erroneous Doctrines, and pernicious Principles*, be so *Trivial, and Inconsiderate* as the *Dissenters* would in this Juncture persuade the World, I leave to every Impartial Readers Judgment, for doubtless it must seem very strange, that so solemn a *Constitution* as our Church, fix'd upon such mature *Deliberations*, should be prostituted to the *Cavels, and Clamours* of every selfwill'd *Opiniator*; without either *Scripture, Reason, or Antiquity*, for any thing demanded; yet this hath been their continued *Out-cry* from the very first; all *Concessions* must be on our side, till the Church is made no less deformed, than the *Painter* did that *Picture*, which he altered upon the *Caprice* of every *By-stander*; whereas considering the uneasiness of their Tempers, and Perverseness of their *Spirits*, made up altogether of *Contradiction*, we ought to have remonstrated the grand defects on their side, and been, with much more reason, as positive in our *Truths*, as they in their *Mistakes*. I am sure *Solomon Pro. 6. 14.* tells us, that such as walk with a froward mouth, and froward heart, (which seldom walk asunder) devise mischief, and sow discord continually, as we have found sadly verified these hundred and fifty years, The unhappy subject of this Third Section; to show that they have been as *unwearied* in their attempts, and more successful in their *accomplishments*, than those *Papists* they inveigh so much against, and upon that account, both are equally to be eschewed.

S E C T. III.

The first and most considerable opposition, I meet with of this nature, in *Ed. VI. Reign*, is of *Bishop Hooper*, who was nominated to the *See of Gloucester*, and willing enough to receive the *Charge*, but having lived a long while at *Zurick* in the time of *Hen. VIII.* where there was little or no distinction of *Apparel*, either *Sacred or Civil*, refus'd to wear such *Robes* at his *Consecration*, as were required of him by the *Rules* of our *Church*; upon this *Archbishop Cranmer*, makes a stop of his *Consecration*, and as all great men ought, would not yield to dispute upon the reasons of his *Disobedience*; and tho' he had made an interest in *Dudly*, then got to be *Duke of Northumberland*, and controull'd all; nay obtain'd the *King's Letter* for a *Dispensation*, *Cranmer* weighing the importance of that ill Example, and Remonstrating the same, to the others great friends, he was left to himself, and continuing in his *Obstinacy*, committed a *Prisoner*; from whence his *Friends* abroad, *John Calvin*, &c. being as little able to rescue him, as those at home; in the end he comply'd not without an acknowledgment. Among his other friends *Peter Martyr*, tho' no stiff assertor of our *Rites* in other cases, tells him plainly as to this, That such needless scrupulosity would be a great hindrance to the *Reformation*, for saith he, since the *People* are with difficulty enough brought to things necessary, if we once declare things indifferent unlawful, they will have no *Patience* to hear us any longer, and moreover hereby we condemn other *Reformed Churches*, and those *Ancient Churches*, which have hitherto been in great esteem. And therefore *Bishop Stillingfleet* tells us, from whom I had this passage, That next to the taking up *Arms* for *Religion*, which made *Men* look on it as a *Faction* and *Design*, There was scarce any thing gave so great a *Check* to the *Progress* of *Religion* in *France*, especially among *Learned and Moderate Men*, as the putting no difference between the *Corruptions* of *Papery*, and *Innocent Customs* of the *Ancient Church*, for the time was, continues he, when many great *Men* there, were very inclineable to a *Reformation*, but when they saw the *Reformers* oppose the undoubted *Practises* of *Antiquity*, equally with the *Modern Corruptions*, they cast them off, as *Men* Guilty of, an unreasonable humor of *Innovation*. Thus far that *Learned Prelate*, with much more in defence of those few *Determinations* our *Church* have made as to indifferent things, for his uni-
versal

Unreas. of
Sep. 17. &c

versal reading condescended so far as to consult and rectify the meanest cavils of the most contemptible Sectary, did they not lye under the same Curse with the Pharisees, that hearing they should hear, but not understand.

Mat. 13
14-1

Our Bishops, particularly Cranmer and Ridley, for they more especially appear'd in the business, carrying their point so resolutely against Bishop Hooper, and his Abettors, is the first instance of a true High Church Spirit, in our Reformation; and if any will alledge it had been better to have carried it with more moderation, the Common Cant now in vogue, I must return upon them, whether it was not much more justifiable, than Mr. Calvin's vigorous prosecution of his Decree against Dancing, altho' in the one as well as the other, being once constituted, and that too in matters indifferent, the Moderation is to be exercis'd by the Parties Governed, not Governors, so far to suppress their froish conceits, as to walk by the same Rule, and mind the same thing. To be sure among us, there was more than ordinary occasion, in that juncture, for a strict hand in such cases, since most of our Divines, who fled abroad in the precedent Reign, return'd home with those Foreign Prejudices. I cannot but mention how extravagantly ridiculous one was in his contradicting humor, preaching at St. Paul's Cross, That the names of Churches should be altered, and those of the days of Holy Hist. the week changed, That Fish-days should be kept on any others, of R. A. than Frydays and Saturdays, and Lent at any other time than 93. between Shrovetide and Easter; nay John Stow tells us further of the same Person, Sir Stephen, he calls him, Curate of St. Catharines Christ Church, that he had seen him leave the Pulpit, and Preach to the People out of an high Elm, and returning into the Church again, he left the Altar and sung the Communion Service on a Tomb of the Dead, with his face towards the North, to such wild fancies do men grow, saith my Author, when once they break those Bounds, and neglect those rules, which wise Antiquity ordain'd for preservation of Peace and Order.

But these impertinent squabbles were sadly silenc'd by the death of that excellent Prince King Edward; whose Successor Queen Mary, restoring the Romish Superstitions, made Fire and Fagot their Arguments, an infallible way of Converting Men, either to be what they would have them, or to what they originally came from, Dust and Ashes. Several of the most eminent of the Reformers, under went that fiery Tryal; others escaped into Foreign Parts, and took up their Abodes at Frankfort.

Strasburg, Geneva, &c. where it might be expected they should have regularly kept up our *establish'd Liturgy abroad*, for which so many were *Frying* at home, but the fore-mentioned *Leaven* which some brought home from thence before, we may presume would *Ferment* afresh, when got into the same *Climate* again, which it soon began to do, and that first at *Frankfort*. Where *William Wittingham* a learned Man, who after an ingenious *Education* at *Oxon*, had spent several years among *Foreign Protestants*, was but a little while fix'd at home, but the turn of *Affairs*, forc'd him back again, and taking up there at *Frankfort*, with several *Associats*, became, at their request I presume, a kind of *Pastor* among them, but instead of our *Liturgy* devis'd a mix'd form of his own, *parte par pale*, taking what he thought fit, out of the one, adding moreover the great improvements of his better *Conceptions*; thus it continued for sometime, till *John Knox* a turbulent *Scot*, continually intermeddling with all *Affairs of Church and State* wherever he came, and by that means having made *Geneva* too hot for him, took refuge at *Frankfort*, and was easily complemented into the *Officiating Duty* there, and whether by consent or not, immediately laid aside, whatever was retain'd of the *English*, with a preference to the *Geneva Order*, tho' so much differing, as in the whole it might pass for his own device.

The news of this *Innovation* coming to their more steady *Countrymen* at *Strasburg*, they first sent *Grindal* and *Chambers*, to upbraid them with so scandalous an *Apostacy*, but being easie Men, (as the former appear'd, when after his return, he arrived at the heighest *Post* in our Church) they wheedled them of with an *Appeal* to *John Calvin*, whereupon *Dr. Cox*, one of the *Compilers*, *Dr. Horne*, and others of *Note*, and *Quality*, were sent thither, by whose presence and authority, the *English Liturgy* was brought again into use, and practise; which when *Knox* began to rail at in a *Publick Sermon*; *Cox* accused him to the *Senate* there, for his defamatory *Libels* against the *Emperor*, and other *Crown'd Heads*, which forc'd him to scamper back to *Geneva*, as the securer *Asylum*, whether several of his *Peevish Fraternity* follow'd. I have mention'd this so generally known passage, not to inform the Reader, but to carry on the thread of my relation, and withall to shew how gradually they carried on the thread of their factious oppositions, for as they began at home with throwing off the *Habits* us'd in the *Office*, so here they were for setting aside the *Office* its

self; and in the same manner went on by degrees to subvert the whole Establishment, as will appear in the next Reign.

For upon *Queen Marys* death, her Sister *Elizabeth* succeeded to the Crown without the least opposition, and this we may be sure brought all the *Exiles* home with the utmost expedition, where the *Zealous Brotherhood* found those of their own warm disposition, who had sculk'd all the while in *England* to have anticipated Authority, in beginning the *Reform* of themselves, *desucking Images, throwing down Alters, &c.* Preaching first in houses privately, afterwards publicly in Churches, great multitudes of People resorting to them without Rule or Order, *A la mode Geneva*, which the *Queen* not liking, prohibited by Proclamation all Innovations of the State of Religion till otherwise appointed, and that none should presume to Preach, but what were *Licens'd* by Authority. And had those forward Undertakers been in any degree Masters of true Thoughts, they must have considered, that the *Roman Rites* were at present the *Legal Establishment*, and that the *Queen* was not yet Crown'd, which too, could not be legally done but by one of those *Bishops*, who had caball'd so closely to the contrary, that but one, with much difficulty, was prevail'd upon to perform the Office, with several other weighty affairs which required cooler Councils, than their hot-heads were willing to wait for.

In the mean while a set of more steady Churchmen were Commission'd to review the Liturgy, and a Parliament call'd which confirm'd that, with several other Acts, which put the *Queen* into a Legal Capacity of setting aside the *Romish Superstitions*, and all such of that Clergy, as would not own her Supremacy, for by that Test it was to be known, who were *Hers*, who the *Popes Subjects*. And being thus fix'd, she then took care to re-establish the *English Reformation*, to the great regret of the *Romanists*, and reproach of all *Foreign Undertakings* in that kind. Yet the pre-possessions many of ours brought from thence and propogated here, hath been a continual Goad in our poor Churches side more or less ever since: For tho' upon this great turn, none of them were consulted in supervising the Liturgy, or if any that way inclin'd, as by some passages in a forementioned Letter we are held in hand, they had more discretion than to discover their Prejudices, in a matter which had nothing else but *Modern Precedents*, in opposition to the *Prescriptions* of all precedent Ages, since Christianity began

began. This notwithstanding that they had little or no hand in the *Settlement*, yet as to the *Ministerial* part there was too great occasion for them, by reason of the many *vacancies* which the *Papish Party* left, both in *Cathedral*, and *Parochial Churches*, with several others destitute before, there was a kind of necessity to imploy them, as being sufficiently opposite to *Popery*, and their Abilities in *Divine and Humane Studys*, as able as most to make good that opposition; upon this account I say many not discovered in their *Disaffection*, and others known to be so, were advanc'd to considerable *Dignities*, with greater numbers to *Country Cures*.

Wherein no sooner fix'd, but they began to revive their *Cavils* as in *King Edwards Reign*, first at the *Habits* of the *Clergy*, then at the *Ceremonies*, and so on Negatively to the *Liturgy*; before they came positively to assert the necessity of their *Discipline*, which yet soon follow'd and would be continually appealing or making their complaints to *Peter Martyr*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, with their other *Foreign acquaintance*, and they as forward to interpose on their behalf, without obtaining more than a *Civil answer*, and a truer information of the matters they complain'd about, with the unreasonableness of their obstinacy, and opposition: And since it appeared, after all, 'twas impossible to reclaim them by any amicable means; the *Bishops* and others of her *Majesties Ecclesiastical Commissioners*, resolv'd upon such other courses, as the Law empower'd them unto, to which purpose there were several *Books of Orders*, *Advertisements*, *Injunctions* and *Articles* published, and a regular procedure thereupon, in making some of the most *refractory*, signal *Examples*; *Sampson* being turn'd out of the *Deanery of Christ Church* for an incorrigible *Non-Conformist*, and *Hardiman* from his *Prebend of Westminster*, for throwing down the *Altar*, and defacing the *Vestments* of that *Church*, with several others thorough-out the whole Kingdom: For as the Faction, some of them at least, seem'd *Irreclaimable*; so the *Government* was resolv'd to let them find it would not be dallyed withall. And thus it continued during *Archbishop Parkers* presiding in the *See of Canterbury*, about 15 years, who all that time kept up the *Discipline of the Church* to its just height, without stretch or remission; and that height I take to be the just denomination of a *True-Churchman*, having known none in those *Posts* go higher, I wish I could say go lower too, yet are we not going now every day lower than other.

Which fatal consequence of those in power, first began with his Successor Grindal, who either through *Remissness*, *Affection* or both, suffered the Rains of *Discipline* and *Government*, to lie most *Scandalously* loose, without the least *Check* or *Restraint*, the truth of it is, having liv'd several years beyond Seas in friendship with those there; and by a continued *Correspondence*, much carress'd, upon his Gradual Advances to *London*, *York* and *Canterbury*, his easie disposition was easily prevail'd upon, to gratifie them in every request, without due care of so strict a *Guard*, in reference to himself, and others, as his Province requir'd in a *General*, as well as particular sence: But not to instance in the several *Encroachments* he suffered them to make, which at this distance is next to impossible, there was one he seem'd more especially to countenance, and promote, an exercise they term'd *Prophefying*, pretended (as all *Innovations* must be guilded over with something of great advance to *Religion*) for increase of *Piety* in the *Professors* of the *Gospel*, the improvement of their *Gifts*, &c. but intended, at leastwise perverted to the furtherance of their *Holy Discipline*; which they carried on so far, as hereupon first to set up their *Classical* and *Sinodical Meetings*. 'Twas some years before the *Queen* came to the knowledge of this, but when she did, was much startled at it, and having seriously weigh'd all the inconveniencies which might thence ensue, sent for *Grindal*, reprov'd him for suffering so great an *Innovation* to be obtruded on the *Church*, and charg'd him to see it forthwith suppress.

He on the other side, was so prejudic'd in the matter, as to write to the *Queen*, a long tedious *Letter* in justification thereof, with some serious *Reflections* upon her intermeddling with what belonged to *Churchmen*, proffering rather to resign his *Charge* than comply: The *Queen* perceiving the Man both weak and willful; and being farther inform'd, what a neglect there was of the *Publick Liturgy* throughout the *Kingdom*, with many other *Innovations* already made, and more projected, tending some of them to ease her of all *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, by translating it into their *Consistories*; took him at his word, and sequestering his *Archiepiscopal Power*, appointed *Four Suffragans* of that *Province*, to take care thereof. Although it was thought his fall would not have been so suddain, nor so great, had not the *Earl of Leicester*, otherwise a great *Patron* of the *Paritans* been disoblig'd by him, for refusing to *Alincate* his goodly *House and Manner* of *Lambeth*, to that *Sacrilegious Favourite*; with

with another as unjustifiable a Request, as sufficient caution for any Churchmen to become Properties to, or according to our new term, Trim with Great Men; or ingage with any of their Party making Factions, for if they will not go on, as their humor or interest requires to the utmost Extremity, though it be to the Churches Ruin, none shall be so forward to further theirs.

'Tis impossible to imagin how much ground the Faction got, during the five years of this Prelates weak, or to use another new Term, Low Administration, as the Queen with great concern express'd her self to Archbishop Whitgift, when she nominated him to succeed upon his death, (which that Great Good Man, could not be prevail'd upon to take before, tho' earnestly importun'd, some since have not been so tender in their Respects, I will not say Consciences) declaring how sensible she was into what disorders Church Affairs were fallen, by the connivance of some Bishops, Obstinacy of some Ministers, and power of some great Lords both in Court and Countrey, notwithstanding all which, he should want neither countenance or encouragement for the carrying on so great a work, and indeed none but a person of his Deep Judgment, managed with a Patience and Resolution equally invincible, could have stem'd so strong a Tyde, as for more then twenty years continually Bear upon him, or rather the whole Church, especially the Ten formost, for the Faction having given out their Admonitions and fram'd their Discipline, grew so impudent as to threaten, that if the Government would not assist them in the Establishment thereof, it should be done whether the Queen and State would or not; insinuating how many Thousands their party consisted of, (now they are come to Legions) and if not comply'd with, such courses should be taken, as should make all their hearts ake. All which intolent demands, as they were continued several years together, so never more impudently, than in that formidable year 88. when the Nation was terribly threatned with a Foreign Invasion, as if they, no less than the Papists were of confederacy with the Spaniards, and the Queen proceeded accordingly, confining the busiest of them in Wisbitch Goal, where several of those of the other party were likewise secured. But so soon as that Storm was over, resolv'd upon more Effectual Courses, to suppress them both, having Experimentally found, what the Lord Keeper Puckering was ordered to declare in open Parliament, that no Ear be given, nor time afforded to the wearisom solicitations of those that commonly

Hook. Pref.

be called Puritans, wherewithall the last Parliaments have been exceedingly importun'd, which sort of Men, whilst in the guidness of their spirit, they labour, and strive to advance a new Eldership, they do nothing else but disturb the good repose of the Church, and Commonwealth: And as the case stands, it may be doubted, whether they, or the Jesuit do offer more danger, or be more speedily to be redress'd; with much more to the same purpose. Whereupon such Laws were Enacted, and so regularly executed, as the Pragmatical humour of that *Haughry Faction* could never take head, or get up again; The watchful eye, and steady hand of this great *Prelate*, with the continued countenance of His Royal Mistress, (who was Mistress of a Resolution too, not common to her Sex) took such care, as never to be troubled more, in their time, with that *Vexatious Generation* of Men, which had been so uneasy to the Government before, and Fatal since.

And here it would be a great piece of Injustice to the memory of that Excellent Queen, should we omit to take notice, that the most considerable Law at this time made to suppress the *Puritan Dissenters*, (the *Papists* were the other, and there were other Laws for them) was that so much inveigh'd against 35. *Eliz.* Which the Bishop of Sarum, in his Speech upon the Bill against Occasional Conformity, is pleas'd to term a *Severe Act*, and with its Concomitant Punishments a great blemish on her long and glorious Reign. Her kind treatment of the *Papists*, is another blemish he is pleas'd to charge her withall; whereof some few personal kindnesses can be no Argument, if we consider the many *Mullets* upon, and *Forfeitures* of their Estates, was a very considerable Branch of that small Revenue, so prudently manag'd by her self and Ministers: And there is scarce an Ancient Family of that persuasion, which is not sensible thereof to this very day. Now that two such charges as these; should drop from the Lipps, and be publish'd from the Pen of his Lordship, must be very surprizing to any person, who reflects upon what his Lordship in his History had publish'd before, with how great Temper and Moderation that wise Princess proceeded in reference to both those Parties, so long as either of them kept within any such Bounds: And that Incomparable Letter of Secretary Walsingham, which his Lordship so highly vallu'd, as to make it the close of his whole Work, exactly states the whole progress of her Proceedings, and that nothing of severity was us'd, till they began to Vaunt of their

*Strength and Number of their Partisans, and to use Cominations that their Cause would prevail through Uproar and Violence. And let any Judicious person read that Letter Impartially, and then declare whether the Puritan is not as severely charg'd as the Papist, even those Seditious Priests of a new Extraction, as his term is, the Jesuit; and thus we found the Lord Keeper Puckering, put them in the same Class, and if they persevere ought to meet with the same Noose. The account this Secretary gives of the Latter, the Puritan, is the more remarkable, because he was a long time, look'd upon as a Patron and Abettor of theirs, till their Demure Looks and Precise Words, were ready to break out into Overt Acts and Publick Distractions. To which I shall add another passage which could not but much disgust him, for when upon their incessant Clamours and Importunities, not without Threats too, some of the Lords of the Council (whether with the Queens privity or not is not said,) thought of giving up those three Ceremonies they most boggled at, and made greatest exception against. Kneeling at the Sacrament, the Surplice, and Cross in Baptisme; Secretary Walsingham was appointed to make the Proposal to such of their Chiefs as he knew to be so, that if they would allow and make use of the English Liturgy, those Three offensive obstacles should be removed; whereto they scornfully reply'd in the words of Moses, *Ne ungulam esse relinguendam*, they would not leave so much as a hoof behind. Which might denote, not only their rejection of the whole Liturgy, but they would have moreover an Establishment of their Discipline too; to be sure this their Peremptory answer did much alienate the affection of this their old Friend, as he afterwards affirm'd to Mr. Knewstubs: who told it to Dr. John Burges, from whose Pen my Author had it.*

Hist. of
Presb.
pag. 265.

The Lord Treasurer Burleigh likewise, who was too open ear'd to their many tedious importunities, became at last wholly coold, by finding how little accord there would be among themselves, upon any Concessions yeilded to by our Church, whereof he had this full confirmation, from the four Classes, which in those early days they had set up here in this Kingdom. These had made Complaint to the Lord Burleigh against our Liturgy and entertain'd hopes of obtaining his favour in that business, about the year 1585. he demanded of them, whether they desired the taking away of all Liturgy, they answered, No, he then required

them to make a better, such as they should desire to be settled instead of this. The first Classis did accordingly frame a new one, somewhat according to the Geneva form. But this the second Classis disliked, and altered in 600 particulars: that again had the fate to be quarrell'd by the third Classis. And what the third resolv'd on by the fourth. And the dissenting of those Brethren, as the Division of Tongues at Babel, was a fair means to keep that Tower then from advancing any higher. This I have from that Great Goodman Dr. Hammond in his view of the new Directory: which the Historian now mention'd takes notice of, and compares the Stratagem of the Lord Treasurer, to that of Pacuvius, with the people of Capua, when they had secur'd, and resolv'd to Murder all their Senators, he agreed seemingly with their Resolution, but desir'd them to resolve first, whom they would have in their places, wherein coming to no accord, the old ones not only sav'd their Lives, but continued in their places.

Pag. 13

That this great Man, upon further *Insults* and *seditious threatnings* became more and more alienated from them, appears by his *advice to her Majesty*, mentioned in my Preface to the first part, which I presume was followed in promoting that formidable Act 35. and other strict procedures, to such real earnest, that *Odell* and *Perry* two of their boldest Libellers were sentenc'd to Death, which the latter actually suffered, the other what with Shame and Sorrow died heart broken in Prison: The terror whereof put the rest of their party into such a Panick fear, as they all put on Sheeps-cloathing; and continued the remainder of that Reign, as innocent as Lambs.

To this happy calm were those *Turbulent Spirits* reduc'd, at King James's coming to the Crown; but immediately upon that change, the Faction fell to their old *Licentious Extravagancy*, whether presuming on his Education in the Kirk of Scotland; or the easiness of his *Disposition*, the fatal misfortune of that good natured family; from whence soever it was, to besure they began in several places, to omit the *Common-Prayer*, lay aside the *Surplice*, neglect the *Ceremonies*, and more than so, held some *Classical* and *Synodical* meetings: as if the *Laws* themselves, according to my *Authors Observation*, had died when the *Queen Expired*, however those disorders were repress'd by *Proclamation*, *prohibiting*

biting any to Innovate either in Doctrine, or Discipline, till the King upon mature deliberation, should take order in it, others more cautiously address'd themselves by Petition, upon some the most plausible of their Exceptions, against what our Ecclesiastical Constitutions required their Conformity, hereupon followed the Hampton Court Conference, a Condescension Queen Elizabeth would never yield to, though often importun'd; knowing full well, how much it tended to the Ruin of all Government, that matters once established in the form of Law should be made subject to disputes, as King James likewise declar'd in a Proclamation, set forth when this debate was at an end, but either for his own satisfaction; or to show his great abilities, and right apprehension, of those controverted matters he condescended thereunto. Some particulars of this Learned Debate I have already mention'd, and were it not for swelling these papers into too great a Bulk, should take notice of several more, as much to my subject; but as it was there observ'd, their Objections were so stale and so often answered, at the time imploy'd in a further reply would be all mispent. However the Faction according to their wonted tho no laudable practise, sent abroad so many false Reports, and right down Lies, as to what there pass'd, that a Reverend Dean of that Assembly was oblig'd to print a Summary Account or Abridgment of the several matters then transacted, which shall not be further taken notice of here, for the reason already given; only let me remarke what King James declared in a Proclamation set forth at the close thereof.

Where we are told, That the success of that Conference was such as happeneth to many other things, which moving great Expectation before they are entred into, in their Issue produce small effects; That he found mighty and vehement informations, supported with such weak and slender proofs, as it appear'd unto him and his Council, There was no cause why any change should be in that which was most oppugned, namely the Book of Common-Prayer, containing the Publick Service of God here Establish'd, nor in the Doctrine, which appear'd to be sincere, nor in the Forms and Rites which was justifi'd out of the Practise of the Primitive Church, &c. And then concludes as I mentioned just now, with the many inconveniencies which arise in Government, by admitting Innovations in things once settled by mature deliberation; and how necessary it was to use constancy in the Publick Determinations of all States: For that

faith

saith he, such is the unquietness and unsteadfastness of some dispositions, affecting every year new Forms of things, as if they should be followed in their inconstancy, would make all Actions of State Ridiculous and Contemprible; whereas the steadfast maintaining of things by good advice establish'd, is the preservative and Weal of all Publick Government. Soon after this Conference Archbishop Whitgift died, succeeded by Bancroft of London, who carried on Church Affairs, in the same uniform course as the other. But the Popish Gunpowder Treason breaking out, so terrifi'd the King, that turning all his thoughts upon them, the Puritans were suffered to take breath, and gain strength withall, to counterpoise the others; against whom they appeared most violently Zealous; tho' soon after that Zeal was no less violently turn'd upon himself, and successor, for somewhat of more countenance shewn to the other side, as hath been already touch'd on; thus unhappily were affairs manag'd then, and more than once since; that these two parties like a pair of Buckets, when the one went down the other was taken up again, whereas the true policy had been, to have kept them both underwater.

Another thing which gave an incurable Wound to our Church in that Reign, was Abbott's succeeding Bancroft in the Archiepiscopal See, who scandalously slighting that steady course his two Predecessors had so wisely steer'd, suffered the whole Crew to do what they list'd, and no wonder than if the Vessel was tosd by every Wave, and driven by every Wind, which there wanted not Evil Spirits to raise continually, or thus I find him charg'd by all Judicious Persons of the State as well as Church, complaining that his not exacting strict conformity to the prescribed Orders of the Church; seem'd to resolve those Legal Determinations to their first principle of Indifferency, and brought in such a habit of non-conformity, as the future reduction of those pretenders to tender Consciences, from their discontinued Obedience, was then given out for Innovation. This unhappy Prelate was top'd upon King James by a Scotch Peer, when such as truly studied the Churches interest, thought they had fix'd him for Andrews; methinks it goes ill at all times, when any of that Nation, concern themselves with our Church; they will recommend none but Abbots; or if of the Clergy, the Abbots, or worse themselves; to be sure had Andrews succeeded Bancroft, and Land follow'd him, the Church would

would have been settled on so sure a *Foundation*, as in great probability there would have been no inlet for those deplorable Miseries, which the *Romish Government*, of that *Popular Prelate* did so unfortunately bring on *Church and State*. Thus another *Grindal* got into that high Post, so low in Spirit, as never able to weather the *Pedantry* and *Prejudices* of his *University Education*, improve in any measure, as to the knowledge of *Men and Things*, *Business* and *Government*, his *Doctrine* was *Predestinarian*, and those of that way were his chiefest Favourites, so that, what with recommending, and then commending him for his *Prudence* and *Moderation*, he was perswaded to take so little care of *Discipline*, that they might be at liberty to Observe none. Not but that we had several *Eminent Persons* of that high Order at that time, who foresaw and lamented, the sad consequences would follow such a *Laodicean* indifferency. And *King James* by their *Modest Intimations* as well as his own *Observation*, found his mistake in advancing so little a *Man* to so great a place: He likewise was gradually brought off, from the prejudices they had possesst him with, against the *Armenian Party*, and the *Duke of Buckingham*, when he came to make that great figure, in the managment of *Affairs*, having try'd *Preston*, *Williams*, and several others, found them all so *False* and *Factionous*, as he betook himself wholly to the other party, and did many good *Offices* for the *Church*, at their suggestions. And in this divided posture *Ecclesiastical concerns* stood at *King James's* death, who tho he had a clear understanding of, and an intimate affection for our *Church*, (as any person must have, who had been so roughly dealt with by his *Kirk Countrymen* before, and experienc'd their many *Insolencies*) yet wanting the *Courage*, and *steady Resolution* of *Queen Elizabeth*, he left it in a much worse condition than when he came to the *Crown*, and consequently the care thereof more troublesome and vexatious.

As his *Good Son* most unfortunately found, who resolving to bring things into their proper channel, by a due Execution of whatever *Laws* might tend thereunto, both *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, found the *Trayterous Heady High minded Faction*, had so poyson'd the generality of the *Corporation Commonalty*, with too many in the *Country*, and some of better *Quality*, as no *Parliaments* could be chose without a *Plurality* of *Members*, made up of nothing but

Fears and Jealousies, Complaints and Grievances, that the true *Churchmen* were all *Papists*, or which was as bad *Armenians*, (a sign they wanted somewhat to object) and the whole Nation upon the brink of *Ruin*, when it wallowed in the greatest affluence of *Peace and Plenty*, it ever did before, and is not likely to do again; it were endless to run over the many abominable *Lyes, Slanders and Calumnies*, their *Virulent Tongues* every day sent abroad, with a never failing invention for fresh supplies. Hereupon after three several *Parliaments*, every one less complaisant than other, the *King* resolv'd to let them cool a little, and try what shift he could make for some time, without any, which he did for several years, and kept the Nation in a flourishing, peaceable condition, when all *Europe* besides were together by the Ears, we were *Umpires* then, not *Parties*, much less *Principals*.

This rais'd the extremity of *Indignation* in those restless *Spirits*, especially finding the *Rod of Discipline* would take place, in so regular a course, as neither to be avoided, nor justly complain'd of, a right down *Rebellion* was therefore resolv'd upon, and because unable to begin it at home, their *Brethren* on the other side *Twede* were oblig'd to lead the *Van*, which they very naturally fell to, and thereupon what *Tumults* they began with, what *Covenants* they entred into, what *Forces* they rais'd, what *Invasions* they made, once and again, till having put their *English Brethren*, by the assistance of a *Parliament* into a capacity of acting the rest of themselves, they were plentifully paid off, and sent home till a further occasion.

Here then the *Fatal Scene* began, the *Puritan*, having got a prevailing party in the *Parliament*, threw off his *Vizard*, and appear'd right down *Presbyterian*, that is according to *Father Calvins Principle*, would justify their *Popularis Magistratus*, not only *ad moderandum Regum Libidinem*, but to make whatever alterations they thought fit in the most *Fundamental Constitutions of Church and State*: In order whereunto they fell into the most abominable *Rebellion, Sacrilege and Schisme*, ever any *Christian State* was guilty of, scarce indeed to be parallel'd among the most *Barbarous Heathens*: And therefore, before I go any further 'twill be proper to observe what our *Comprehension* will come to, if any of them be

be let in that way again, for all these were comprehended in our Church then, till by a half or quarter conformity, they had engaged the people to be forward in pulling down, whatever their neglect or cold performances, had murr'd them to dislike, upon which Mr. Baxter says very truly, tho with his usual way of Fallacy, that the War, the Rebellion he might have said, was begun by Churchmen, that is such Churchmen, as himself; false Brethren unawares crept in to spy out our Liberty, and bring us into Bondage; the truth of it is, there was never since the Pharisees time, any set of Men appeared with more of the Sheep, and acted more of the Wolf, by which Dissimulation many a good Man was impos'd upon: I must crave leave to give one particular instance, which to me seem'd remarkable, when more than 40 years since it was told by the person to whom it was spoken, Dr. Holdsworth a most Learned and Pious Man, and tho by the prejudices of his Education in Emanuel Colledge, he agreed with the Puritans in their five points, and like another Barnabas was carried away with their Dissimulation, yet he adhere'd most cordially, as most of the rest pretended, to the Liturgy and Discipline of our Church, and stood up with undaunted resolution for that and the Royal Cause, when the Cocatrice Egg was grown up to a Serpent; And thereupon committed Prisoner to Ely House, where meeting a person whom he knew to be of that, which would be now called the High-Church Archbishop Laud's party, and related to that particular Bishop, whose house was so vilely abus'd, took him into his Chamber, and with Tears in his Eyes, thus express'd himself. *Ah Mr. B. little did I think there had been such a spirit in the Puritan Party as they have now discovered, other men were wiser, and understood them better, I begg their pardons with all my Soul; thus we see they spar'd none that would not run with the same precipitate rage as they did, into Rebellion and Confusion, even those very friends they had before in Highest Esteem, for Parts and Piety, as this worthy Dr. was acknowledg'd on all hands Superlatively Eminent for both. Nay the Material Church met likewise the utmost of their rage, not a Cathedral where they could come, as they did at length come at all, but was treated with all the Insolence of Sacrilege and Prophaness, which the most Barbarous Nations are recorded to have exercis'd, when they invaded the Roman Empire of old; and much worse than the modern Turks, who*

who generally convert to their own way, such places as they find devoted to the Worship of that Great God, whom they acknowledge to be the Object which all Men ought to Adore.

How far further their personal Inhumanities went against all Orthodox and Canonical Divines throughout the whole Kingdom, whether in Cathedral or Parochial Churches, would be a dismal and Voluminous Relation, one of Fox's Volumes is but a Manual to it, perhaps all three fall short of the others Bulk, and therefore I shall take Dr. Heylen's course, and compute the greatness of those Desolations in all parts of the Kingdom, by the havock they made in London, and Parishes thereunto adjoyning; in order whereunto he proceeds according to the Bill of Mortality, and presents us with a Breif Martyrology, or Catalogue, of the Learned, Grave, Hist. Prof. Religious, and Painful Ministers of the City of London, who³⁴⁶ from the year 1641 to 1647, had been Imprisoned, Plundered, Barbarously used, and depriv'd of all Livelyhood for themselves and Families, for their Constancy to the Protestant Religion Establish'd in this Kingdom, and Loyalty to their Sovereign. This in the Front, and then goes on to every particular Parish, gives the names of the persons Incumbent, and a short account of their Treatment, whereof he makes this Summary at the end.

The Total of the Ministers of London, within
this Bill of Mortality, besides Pauls and West-
minster turn'd out of their Livings. } 1151

Whereof Drs. in Divinity above } 40

Most of them plundered of their Goods, their
Wives and Children turn'd out of Doors.

Imprison'd in London, and in the Ships, and in se-
veral Goals and Castles in the Country } 20

Fled to prevent Imprisonment } 25

Dead in remote parts and Prisons with Grief } 22

By this sad Bill, saith our Historian, confin'd within the
D Lines

Lines of Communication, we may conjecture at the greatness of that Morality which fell among the Regular Clergy in all parts of the Kingdom, by Plundering, Sequestering and Ejecting, or finally by vexing them into their Graves, by so many Miseries as were inflicted on them in the Ships or their several Prisons. In all which ways more Men were outed their Livings by the Presbyterians in the space of three years, than were depriv'd by the Papists in the time of Queen Mary; or what had been Silenc'd, Suspended, or depriv'd, by all the Bishops, from the first year of Queen Elizabeth, to those very times! At the like inhuman rate they proceeded in both the Universities, turning out, as they got Possession, every Member that would not bow to their Baal the Covenant, whereof I shall take notice in the Sequel.

Abrdger
486.

And being thus upon Catalogues we must not pass by that black List, wherewith the *Abrdger* of Mr. Baxter's Life, fills nigh one half of his Book, swell'd up to the number of Two Thousand, with more Art than Truth, as I could Evidence in several persons, and places, but shall only instance in the Three Schools at Newbery, Reading, and Wallingford, at the same time left vacant, which could not be at the same time (for they can not charge Schoolmasters of being Pluralists) since it was the same Man left them, and that not upon any Fanatick account, though upon a Fanatick Distemper, which follow'd him from one place to the other, viz. right down Madnes; contracted as they say, by reading Jacob Beuments Books, which one of that Gange, a Captain of Cromwell's, recommended to him, and though he made several other removes, and was very knowing and diligent in his Profession, during the intermission of his Lunacies, yet they follow'd and return'd upon him to his dying day. This I mention the rather, because if he followed, Mr. Taylors Catalogue, collected as he saith, with great Industry and Application, he might have been better inform'd, living some years in the Town, where the distemper first seized him; but any thing to swell the number, which yet they have little reason to be proud of, upon our taking leave to turn the Tables, and desire them to consider, not only how they went out, but how they came in, whether all of them at first, (which were the founders of the Factions) did not Interlope, upon such unjust and forc'd Vacancies, as the foremention'd Sequesterations made, on purpose for them. To begin as he doth
his

his Catalogue. Good old Mr. Simeon Ash of Sol Aston did not he succeed Good old Mr. Eberhard Udal, who was not in less Esteem, even amongst the Puritans, than the forementioned Dr. Holdsworth, for Exemplary Life, profound Learning, and Indefatigable Preaching. But when he saw the pretended Zeal of his Brethren, degenerate into Frenzy and Madness, and that under pretence of Reformation, they intended to bring in Anarchy and Sacrilege, he writ Learnedly and Preach'd earnestly against it, for which reason, they Sequestred his Living, plundered his House, and turning his Bed rid Wife out of doors, left her in the Streets. 'Twill not be amiss to take notice of the Charge laid against him in the first Century of Scandalous Malignant Priests, that he affirm'd the great Reformers of the Church now are Hypocrites, and had writ a Book Intituled *Noli me tangere*, charging the Parliament with Sacrilege, &c. and thereby they have brought a National sin upon the Land, &c. What sad Crimes were these, did the Papist when ascendant ever proceed more severely against anyone for speaking seasonable Gospel Truths? Fire and Faggot had been a quick dispatch, this was a lingering Death, under which the poor Man labour'd till 47, and then went off with Grief. Yet this was their constant usage of the Church party both in City and Kingdom, that Room might be made for such tender conscienc'd Brethren, as could Bagge at a Ceremony, but make no scruple of invading another Man's right, and think the Bread of Oppression sweet, for of such vile intruders as these, one half of his Catalogue consists, who were forc'd to give up their unjust possessions, on that signal Return of Church and Monarchy 1660. And such as went out afterwards upon the Act of Uniformity, 'twas upon abjuring the Covenant, more than conforming to the Ceremonies, but including both, can it be imagin'd, that when a set of Religious Pretenders, have rose in Arms against their Lawfull Superiours, and imbroil'd the whole Kingdom in War and Confusion, the Government when once more got ascendant, should not take care to make them renounce those Destructive Principles upon which they acted, and if not take it as a favour that they are permitted to live in it, without enjoying any place of Trust or Profit from it. And had not their friends the Papists been behind the Curtain with the Executive Power, when the Legislative had so Prudently provided against their future encroachments, there would have been none at this day so bold as to

justify the least step of that most unjustifiable Rebellion; but the *Papists* as I said, stood their friends, and they two have been always the *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* against our *Judah*.

Come we now from the number the quantity, to take a little notice of the Quality, the high Bombast Characters he gives these his Dissenting Saints, which I cannot but apply to that Epigram an Italian Wit made upon Poggins the Florentine Historian.

*Dum Patriam Laudat, damnat dum Poggins Hostem;
Nec malus est Civilis, nec bonus Historicus.*

for this our Abridger is so true to his Party the Faction, as not to regard a word of Truth in the Relation, not one of them mention'd to have the least mote in his Eye, or fault in the whole course of his Life, that he should take notice of their acting against the Government, the many Treasons they not only ran into, but by their Drum Ecclesiastick, beat the Alarm throughout the whole Kingdom, could not be expected from so partial a Pen; but that he should have the confidence to inveigh so vehemently against others who have given a true account of their many Villanies tending that way, is a liberty never would be permitted under Presbyterian Dispensations. They tell me there was a Law made lately in Scotland with a severe Penalty upon the Episcopal party, if they dare to open their mouths against those who caus'd the many Exorbitancies and Oppressions, that Worthy set of Men so inhumanly groan under.

Anthony Wood is the more immediate object of his Spight, and considering, as I observ'd, he regards his Party more than Truth, must be allow'd to have reason, for that Foul-side he represents of any mention'd by him, hath ten times better Authority, than those many Encomiums of his, for gifts which God never bestow'd, for parts which none but themselves can admire, and Learning, which no Man of sound Reading could ever see or value. Yet at this fulsum rate are they all magnifi'd, as if there were never any thing of Religion or Knowledge in the World before, neither indeed hath there like theirs.

But

But what if it be made appear, that Mr. Wood is much more exact to the *Rules of Character-writing* than this his *Accuser*, who when he has the worst of Men under his *Pen*, fails not to take notice of whatever good *qualities* he was known to be Master of, and therefore 'twas odd in this his *Censurer*, to charge him with some *Reflections as black as the* Pag. 119ⁿ *Vapours of the Infernal Cell*, where they were forg'd, upon their Doughty Dr. John Owen, yet immediately adds, that he acknowledg'd him a Person well skill'd in the *Tongues*; *Rabbinical Bearning*, &c. and was one of the most Genteel and fairest writers that appear'd against the Church of England, which last Dr. Stillingfleet acknowledged, and thank'd him for, when he writ against the Sermon, which occasioned the Drs. Reply in his *Reasonableness of Seperation*. M. Baxter likewise writ upon the same account, but in so different a manner, as since we are upon the *Metaphor*, nothing from the *Infernal Cell* could be of a blacker hue, as the Doctor frequently observes, and with an ingenious carelessness *Gibes* him for. Also too that *Bird of Athens made up of Face and Feather*, us'd him at the same rate, and was taken up in the same manner.

But what reflections are these our *Abridger* is so angry at? I can find nothing but a brief account of the *Tergiversations* of his whole Life, how he fell from the Church to *Presbitery* *Athens* in the first turn, from that to *Independency* in the next, 155. *Preaching up* *Sectarisme* wherever he came, and thereby indeer'd himself so much to *Cromwell*, as to become sometimes of his *Cabinet*, especially in order to the *King's Murder*, for which he applauded the *Regicides*, in his *Sermons*, and *Justified the Fact as a Glorious Prosecution*, and was thereupon advanc'd by *Cromwell's* means to the *Deanery* of *Christ Church*, as *Thomas Goodwyn* another of the same *Leven* to the *Presidentship of Magdal.* the two best places, as things then stood, their *Professions* were capable of. Now this doubtless must be the *Black Reflection* which caus'd so much disgust, yet can there be any so black for abetting so *Infernal an Act*, nay, is it not the *Act* alone which renders it so, without any fault in the *Relator*, nothing but a *Presbyterian* of the third descent could write at so unthinking a rate, take cognisance of an *Independant*, engaged up to the ears in that *Royal Blood* which his *Progenitors* were so earnest to throw wholly on that party; what Mr. Wood relates further of this Dr. is right down matter of fact, which there are

are several alive can testify, and for the several years of his Vice-chancellorship if he were the brightest Ornament of the University, the many Presbyterians there, were much mistaken, who us'd the utmost of their interest, and at last got him out, by Dr. Wilkins means, and relation to Cromwell's Family, but not till the old ones death, he had too great a value for such an Instrument of the Infernal Cell. Among his many other Innovations and Rudenesses, whilst Vice-chancellor, every one will not think it a fault in Mr. Wood to mention this, That if any one, which was but seldom, concluded at St. Mary's with the Lords Prayer, he would with great sneering, and scorn, turn aside, or sit down and put on his Hat, was this either like a Christian, or a Gentleman. But to end our discourse of this Man, with his end, if Mr. Wood did say he very unwillingly laid down his head and died, without being present there, (which certainly he was not,) or having any account from such as were, which 'tis probable he had; yet considering how far his hands and head were engag'd in the Murder of his Sacred Sovereign, with those many other mischiefs his Implacable Spirit was continually projecting, might be more probably affirm'd, than that he parted with his life in a cheerful hope of a Better, or that his memory shall not rot with the wicked.

At the same rate he Extalls Tho. Goodwyn, that other Favorite of Cromwell's and fellow labourer with Owen in reforming the University, of the Presbyterian Interlopers, for not taking the Engagement, as they had done the True Churchmen, for refusing the Covenant. John Goodwyn likewise he resolves to bring off as well as he can, tho with how little consistancy let the Reader judge, when having declar'd how much he was a Man by himself, being against every Man, and had every Man almost against him, yet in the next line commends him for a clear head and penetrating spirit, which is again immediately contradicted by telling us how warm and eager he was in whatever he engag'd, however he is resolv'd to bring him in the close handsomly off, for with all his faults he must be own'd a considerable Man, and now he hath done, there is one thing I shall take leave to mention, wherein he was altogether a Man by himself, for when 'twas objected their Thanksgivings, as well as their Prayers ought to be Ex-tempore, he was convinc'd of so much reason in the Allegation, as immediately to put it in practise, dictating: Ex-

tempore

Abridg.

221.

225.

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tempore Psalms alla mode Sternhold and Hopkins in like Rhyme, and like Sence, and so his Prayers and Singing kept the same Tenor, but whether with the Spirit or Understanding, as St. Paul directs, 'tis pitty such deluded wretches as followed him, did not better understand. These three persons I have more especially mentioned, because so eminently *Infamous* for extolling the *Royal Parricide*, which our Author not only forbears to mention as a *Blot* in the many high commendations he gives them, but charges another who makes bold to hit this *Blot*, with *Reflections as black as the Vapours of the infernal Cell*.

But no wonder our *Dissenters* make so slight of *Recognizing* that *Horrid Fact*, since among the many ways their Church friends have of late found to sweeten them, the Curate of *Algate* on the 30. of *Feb.* last year, went so far, as to joyn with, and gratifie them, in *Prophesying* those *Sacred Ashes*, at so *shameful* a rate, as he was *asham'd*, which was much, to print all he had preach'd of those *Villanious Reproaches*, and immediately thereupon had a thankful acknowledgment from the *Dissenters*, Dedicated to his Doctorship, with a Defence and large improvements upon his *Labels and Lies*, in a Pamphlet call'd *Moderation Maintain'd*: from whence by the by, we may observe, what sort of *Moderation* must qualifie a *Coalition* with those *Parties*, whoever will not approve that *Execrable Deed*, and all that was done in order thereunto or follow'd thereupon, shall be *High-Church*, void of all *Moderation*, and according to the *Drs.* True Character, have nothing but a false pretence to the name of a *Churchman*, in return to which I shall make bold to observe, that when Men come once to prostitute their Principles to *Preferment* and *Interest*; (as 'twas said of some *Fanatics* by a *Country-fellow*, upon *Charles the II.* Restoration, when he saw them every *Glass* drinking the *King's health*, These new *Cavaliers* cannot do, but they must over do. To become a *Convocation Property* was to purpose, but to become a *Commonwealth Property*, to none in the world, for they will take away, not confer *Dignities*. But perhaps some may think it proper to Court them, upon the same account the *Indians* do the *Devil*, ne ladant, whatever it is, and however the *Differences and Distinctions*, *Hells*, and *Prejudices*, now stand between *High* and *Low*, upon such a procedure in the *Old Church* of *Wpington*, *Bancroft* and *Land*, ay and notwithstanding the *Latitude* some began

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to take, of *Juxton, Sheldon and Sancroft*; *Clamarent periisse pudorem, cuncti pane Patres.*

And such another Essay of Politick Divinity we had in the late Anniversary Sermon upon her Majesties Accession to the Crown at *St. Dunstons* in the *West*, recommended to the Press by the deep Judgments of the Vestry Gentlemen, some of which 'tis probable were Booksellers, and might have look'd into, and approv'd as well as sold, *Mr. Locks* Treatises upon that Subject, and thought it no little credit to his Notions, that so Eminent a Divine should abett them, whereas her Majesty doubtless is little beholding to such Authors either Clergy or Lay, who lay a greater stress on their own novel Systems, than the 13th to the *Romans*.

But to return from this Digression, which I cannot forbear to make, whenever the crying Blood of our Royal Martyr is mention'd, with *Contempt or Extenuation*; so frequently done, and so little regarded, as to make me fear the whole Nation will prove at last the accursed thing, and its Ruin the Expiation; which had our Abridger considered, as a Divine or Christian ought, he would never have been so free in his Elogiums upon Three such hardned wretches, as dar'd to make Almighty God the Abettor of the greatest Crime, Judgment, and Reproach, ever any Nation fell under.

Now if the Independent Chiefs, not only find such fair quarter, but pass for Sts. in his Rebels Callender: what a Glorious Luster must the Presbyterians make, and Grandfir one of the first Magnitude to be sure, as indeed he was one of the fiercest Beautifews among them, and very far from any thing of Moderation towards those of other Sentiments, as appears by his several Sermons before the Parliament, but more especially from that Celebrated Book as his Grandson terms it *Smeetymnous*, not only written just before, but on purpose, among many other such like pieces, to promote the Civil War; so Virulent, and Scurilous as to matter of Style, and so jejune withall, so groundless as to Argument, that nothing but *Invectives and Exclamations*, could flourish off that defect, and this as it was against the Church in General, so more immediately against *Bishop Hall* the Author they reply'd to, Colleague to most of that Magical Club which was to conjure down Episcopacy, and highly vallu'd by all the Puritan Party, for a Prelate of great Moderation, which made a Brother of his own Order say, he was *Tantum non in Episcopatu Puritanus*, yet

yet this good this *Moderate Man* met with the same treatment as the rest of his *Brethren*, both in the foulmouth Language, those his quondam friends bespatter'd him with all, and the foul dealing of *Sequestrators*, indeed the whole Party, as to his *Temporal Subsistence*, in withholding that allowance the *House* had seemingly Voted, and more than that, had so little shame, as after they had *Sequestred the profits of his Bishoprick*, sold all his Goods and Personal Estate, (not leaving so much as his *Childrens Pictures* out of their curious *Inventory*) to come to him for *Assessments and Monthly Payments*, for that Estate they had taken away, and took distress from him upon his just denial; these and many such like inhumanities the poor Man complains of in the *specialties of his life*, and that was all the redress he had.

I shall make but two remarques more, tho I could run out into Twenty, as to *Grandfirs Character*. 1. *He refus'd a Bishoprick*, because he could not have it, upon the terms of the *Kings Declaration*. But 2. kept his *Temper and Moderation* after he was *Ejected*. For his refusal of the Bishoprick, as the general discourse then went, *his own*, that is the *Presbyterian party in the City*, were so violently against it, as they threatned to pull him in pieces, if he made so gross an *Apostacy*: Which particular I should not dar'd to have here mention'd, but that I find it in a great measure confirm'd by an unexceptionable *Author* in the case, their great *Baxter*, who tells us, *That Bishopricks being profer'd to Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Calamy and himself*, they had some *Speeches altogether about it*: And 'tis my fancy were jealous one of another, for *Mr. Calamy*, he saith, *desir'd they might all go together*, or all refuse, or all accept it; Whereas *Dr. Reynolds* by his *Spouses* better advice, left them both in the Lurch, not without knowing in what circumstances the others stood, for continues *Mr. Baxter*, by this time the rumor of it fled abroad, and the choice of the City made a difference, for though they wish'd that none of us should be *Bishops*, yet they said that *Dr. Reynolds* and *Mr. Baxter*, being known to be for moderate *Episcopacy*, their acceptance would be less *Scandalous*: But if *Mr. Calamy* should accept it, who had preach'd, and written, and done so much against it, (which were then at large recited) never *Presbyterian* would be trusted for his sake, so that the *Clamour* was very loud against his acceptance of it; And *Mr. Newcomen* his Brother-in-law wrote to me earnestly to dissuade him, and many

p. 186.
Life 281.

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more: And yet 'twas thought his *City Dames* influenc'd him more than all his other friends, to be sure it was an unwilling refusal, more out of Fear, and Shame, than Choice, however young Edmund thinks to flourish of the matter. 2. My other Remark is upon *The Temper and Moderation* he kept when ejected; for his Temper indeed he ever continued in the same *Presbyterian rigors and moroseness*; But for his Moderation there was little shown, in his presuming to Preach soon after his Ejection, more than once, and perhaps had not been taken notice of the second time, but that among many other dangerous passages, he dar'd to apply that *Text to the Times, the Ark of God was taken, and Glory is departed from Israel*; which his Grandson saith was preach'd occasionally, as they now Conform, on purpose to do mischief, for would any Prince or Government in the world, but ours, endure to be Reproach'd as *Philistines*, because they silenc'd a set of Men, for not renouncing those *Principles of Rebellion and Schisme*, wherewith they had subverted the whole Frame, and Constitution both of *Church and State*; yet this is call'd severity and said generally to be resented, whereas it was all a *State Sham*; for besides his *Presbyterian friends at the Kings Court*; he had his *Popish friends at the Queen Mothers*, the first *Declaration for Toleration* being then on the *Forge at Somerset-House*; and it was from those two Courts and Parties, Joyning Issue to support the *Fanatick Ballance*, that they did not absolutely sink in that *Juncture*; the Parliament were sincere, and resolute in the matter, and oblig'd the King to recall his *Declaration* for that time, but the same *Engines* continually play'd, till they had brought him very nigh to the same condition with his *Father*, and how far further they have gone since, is not here to be related.

And since our Abridger will have *Smeectimnuus* so celebrated a piece, I shall mention the other four Assistants in that doubty Club; Two whereof were alive when the *Bartholomew Purge* began to Operate, Dr. *Spurstow* and Mr. *Newcomen*, the Dr. he tells us was one of those Authors, and an Assembly Man, new turn'd out of *Hackny* for refusing the Covenant, as before out of *Katherin-Hill* for not taking the Engagement, without letting us know who was turn'd out before to make room for his Intrusion, viz. Bishop *Brownrick*, and why might not Dr. *Lightfoot* intrude upon him as well as he upon the Bishop; nay it was much worse in the former, for the Bishop

Bishop (as tradition went nigh 50 years since) had been all a long his great Patron, and friend, advanc'd him in the Colledge, countenanc'd his person, and directed his Studies all the while he was there; was this the Humility, Meekness and Charity he is commended for? *Et tu Brute* fix'd a charge of ingratitude upon that great Hero, Tho' what he did was to retrieve his Countrys Liberty, whereas the Invasion was on their side here, upon whatever tended to the Glory of God, the truth of Religion, the safety and well-are of Church and State, yet when all things Sacred and Civil are thus trampled underfoot, 'tis against there Father *Machiavils* Maxim to regard any thing of friendship or precedent Obligations. Uncle *Newcomen* was the other surviving Author; and tho his Nephew forgot to commend him upon that account, was thought to have the greatest share in that magical composition, to besure for parts and learning he was superior to the whole fraternity, but however extoll'd for Temper did not that give Evidence against him, his many sermons at *Westminster*, and elsewhere, speak him as rigid a Covenanter as any in the Pack.

The other two whom death prevented the mortification, of seeing the Church and Crowns re-establisment, were Dr. *Young* and *Stephen Marshall*, the former tho' English by birth, was Educated in a Scotch University, and return'd through-ting'd with a whole System of their Northern Divinity, as rigid as their Winter colds, and as false as the generality of their Hearts; which without breach of Charity we may charge upon him, who had so little of Christian Conscience as to interlope upon the worthy Dr. *Stern's* Mastership of *Jesus Colledge Cambridge*, and yet so much of Covenanting pertinaciousness as to leave it upon the Engagement, where-let any candid Reader judge, whether it was not more from strength of prejudice, than regard to truth, that having swallow'd one Camel, he should boggle at the other. *Stephen Marshal* comes to be mention'd in the last place, tho the two first letters of his Name begins the magical *Smeic*. very properly styl'd by the ingenious Satyrst of those times the *Geneva Bull*, his roaring mouth and notorious Impudence, rendering him without competition *Dux Gregis* to that whole herd: altho when the Independants got the ascendant, finding they would command the better pasture, he went over and roar'd as much on their side. For, terming him impudent, before

any one censure me, let them examine his deportment, during his forc'd attendance upon the Good King when confin'd at *Holmby*, and then, unless of the same leaven, they must allow me to continue that Epithet, or help me to a worse: yet doubtless had he come into our Abridgers Catalogue, we should have found him magnified for his Exemplary modesty and great moderation. For this we find the *Universal Character*, which runs through the *Encomiums* of the all his *First Rate Dissenters*, Men of extraordinary Temper and Moderation, wholly compos'd of an humble meek and Charitable Disposition: As if every individual in the Nation had forgot how many, not only *Widows Houses* but *Churches* too their long

Mat. 23. Prayers had devoured, what Gnats they strain'd and Camels
 v. 14. swallow'd, what little things they stood upon, without the
 v. 24. least regard to those weightier matters of the Law, Judgment,
 v. 23. Mercy, and Faith, let the world censure as they please, I know not why any Man should stifle his Reason or stretch his Charity, to believe well of any Person or Party, when their Actions speak quite the contrary, and I desire the best friends they have, to produce any Set or Generation of Men, since our Saviours time, which have more exactly parallel'd that further Charge he brings against *The Pharisees* of appearing

v. 28. Righteous unto Men, when within they are full of Hypocrisie and Iniquity. Are they willing we should reprint *Evangelium Armatum*, the *Dissenters Sayings*, with several such like Specimens from their own Words and Pens, what Temper and Moderation they express'd when occasion serv'd. An Eminent person in one of the many papers he took occasion to throw abroad on the late Revolution, hath somewhat to this purpose; That Moderation is only clamor'd for by such as are kept out of the Power they would have the management of, and the observation was very obvious from the parties discours'd of, for when the Reins of Discipline were kept somewhat streight, (tho seldom so streight as they ought) how did the Old Puritans clamor at their Superiors for Moderation? That is to be remiss in their Duty, and violate their Oaths in the due Execution of such Laws as were committed to their charge; to no other end, than that they might be indulg'd a Liberty to run into all Immoderate and Licentious Courses; but when they had committed a Rape upon the whole Government, brought both Church and State under their own Arbitrary Impositions and New fangled Innovations, That

what moderation did those *Meek, Humble Charitable dispositions* then express, when the *Covenant* was prefer'd to the *Creed*; so rigidly exacted both from *Prince and People*, that without worshiping that *Dagon*, the *Royalties* of the one, and *Rights* of the other were altogether *confiscated*, and so little regard had to the *Religious Obligations* of their precedent *Oaths*, with whatever else had been the immemorial practise, or *Legal Constitution* in *Church and State*, that to plead any thing of that kind, was inevitable *Deprivation*, in short no Man was then thought to have any thing of tender *Conscience* or true *Religion*, who could not digest *Sedition and Scisme, Rebellion and Sacralidge*. This was the moderation of those Men and times, and tho' the folly of their ways was discover'd at the end, they could not but acknowledge themselves fowly deceiv'd, and frustrated, yet *their Posterity not only commend their Sayings, but Doings too*, and by the same abusive *Cants* of words and sence, of *Religion and Loyalty, Truth and Honesty*, are bringing us into the same Confusions, and then we shall be once more sadly convinc'd, that *moderation* is as inconsistent with the *Principles*, and consequently as forreign to the *Practises* of any of those *Factions*; whether *Classical, Congregational, &c.* as modesty to a *Common Prostitute*.

Thus have I instanc'd in some few the *Coryphai* of the two Grand *Factions*, to evidence whatever account *Mr. Wood the Oxonian* gives of any of them is much more consistent with the *History* of their *Lives and Actions*, than a strain of fulsome *Panigericks*, carried on through the whole account, in a *Cant* of the same words and Phrases, and with the same regard to truths, that is not one syllable of it, and by so general a silence of those numberless distractions they brought upon the whole *Kingdom*, in every concern thereof *Ecclesiastical and Civil*, as there is no Man of an *Impartial Judgment*, but must conclude their approbation thereof, with a design as occasion serves to re-act the same dismal *Tragedy* again; which I as really believe as that *Young Edmond* is *Filius and Nepos* to the two old ones, not but that so great a work as the *Athene Oxonienses*, which took two Centuries back must have some mistakes; and he that saw, and perhaps felt somewhat of that *Cruelty, and Oppression*, the *Factions* so barbarously exercis'd upon all Men of *Honour, Loyalty and Conscience*, could not sometimes forbear a severe reflection upon the *Instruments*, the promoters thereof; tho it may

may as well proceed from others as himself when the relation is from *Persons* not *Authors*, for those he is only oblig'd to quote, *Et sic penas*, &c. whereas the former receive generally so strong a bias from a partial respect to *Friends* or *Relations*, when particularly concern'd that way, or the prejudices of *Parties*, with a zealous regard for the *Publick Weal*, and just indignation at the invaders thereof, in general, as also the too great uncertainties of *Common Fame*, which in many cases is the sole authority; I say in all these instances no judgment of discretion can be secure, but is often forc'd, in a passage of no great moment, to relate it as *Tradition* speaks, and every *Candid Reader* will excuse all failures of that kind, and several others with *Horrace's* allowance *Ubi plura nitent, non ego paucis offendar maculis*, otherwise the work in general is an *Abridgment* to purpose, not of one single *Faction's Life*, but for two hundred years past, a *Breif* but satisfactory account of the most *Eminent Persons* our *Nation* hath produc'd, for he makes many very coherent digressions, to bring in most of *Cambridge Education* too, especially those *Loyal Confessors* which so firmly adher'd to the *Church and Crown*, when the *Presbyterians* rais'd their *Rebellion* against both, 'tis a work I say too *Elaborate* and *Methodically* digested, as could we suppose the 2000 which make up their *Catalogue of Dissenters*, to have liv'd a whole Century and jumbled all their heads together, they could never have compil'd any thing comparable to it, so much for the *Honour* of the *Nation*, and *Beneficial* to the whole *Commonwealth of Learning*.

But the *Dissenters* quarrel with *Mr. Wood* is not solely upon their own *Parties* account, the character he gives those many *Loyal Sufferers* just now mention'd, for adhering so firmly to the *Church and Crown*, doth as much disgust them, as the preference of *Abel's Sacrifice* and his upright *Conversation* did *Cain*, they are highly in *wrath*, and their *Countenance* fall, upon finding them mention'd; for as they murdered some, condemn'd all the rest to a *Civil Death*, so whenever they hear them nam'd with that honour and respect, their great worth deserv'd, it awakens their stuped *Consciences* and calls those sins to *Remembrance*, which the *Actors* never repented of, and their *Posterity* persevere to fill up those measures of *wrath* into which their fore-fathers pour'd so much; for after all their evasions and invectives, the memory of the upright shall be everlasting, and tho punish'd in the sight of Men yet was their hope full

of immortality. So that all things impartially consider'd, I de-
 fie them to find a set of Men since *Primitive Christianity*, more
 exemplary in their lives or steadier in their Principles; of
 greater parts or sounder Doctrine, of a more upright Con-
 versation or a sincerer unaffected Piety; they detested all
 Religious *Grimaces*, such as *Tip'd Caps*, and *turn'd up Eyes*, *wry*
Faces and *whyning Cants*, which looks more like *Hypocrisie* than
Serious Godliness; in short their whole design was to be ap-
 prov'd of God not seen of Men. However not to be charged
 with my own sole Authority, I shall add a much greater, the
Lord Chancellor Clarendon's, who in his *Survey of the Leviathan*
 tells that *Author* Mr. *Hobbs* of his many bitter and unchari- Pag. 304
 table *Invectives* against the *Bishops* and *Clergy* of the *Church*, &c.
 (for it seems the *Athists*, and *Dissenters* hunt in Couples)
 ' yet defies him to bring the least reproach upon them, of
 ' being swai'd by any other motive than the most abstracted
 ' considerations of *Conscience*, *Duty*, *Gratitude* and *Generosity*,
 ' constantly and stedfastly to adhere to the *King*, since they
 ' had in their view; all the prejudices to their persons, and all
 ' the destruction to their *Interest*, that fell out afterwards, were
 ' dispossest of all they had, cast into *Prison* (and new *Prisons*
 ' made for them, in *Old Ships* and *Barges* upon the *Water*)
 ' and with such circumstances of *Inhumanity*, that put a short
 ' end to the lives of many *Thousands* of them their *Wives*
 ' and *Children*, choosing thus to be expos'd to all the *Misery*
 ' and *Contempt* imaginable, rather than to dissemble or con-
 ' ceal their *Fidelity* and *Alleagiance* they ow'd to their *King*
 ' in the highest of his *Afflictions* and *Persecutions*, and from the
 ' moment of his *Execrable Murther*, continued the same *Af-*
 ' fection and *Loyalty* to his *Son*, when the *Triumphant* and
 ' victorious *Factions*, made it *Penal* to acknowledge him
 ' or give him his *Title*.

Thus far this Honourable Person with many particular Cir-
 cumstances of their *Indefatigable Zeal* and *Loyalty*, from his
 own *Observation* and certain *Knowledge*; which is likewise
 farther confirm'd in his *incomparable History*, so that with
 much more *Reason* and *Truth* we may return upon our *Abrid-*
 ger the *Complaint* he makes in behalf of those his *Intru-*
ders, who kill'd and took Possession, and were the *Grand Instrments*
 of all their *Mischiefs*, and *Miseries*. Must we not say, that
mercy forsook the *Earth*, when so many of *Liberal Education*, *Abrid-*
were put to Dig, or Beg, or Starve? Were cast out of their *Free-* 491.
holds,

holds, to fence against future Crimes? were turn'd into the wide world without any visible way of subsistence? Any thing that might have tended to their Relief or Ease, was rejected as unsufferable. They were not only excluded Preferments, but cut off from all hope of a Livelihood, as far as the Industry and Craft of their Adversaries could reach. Not so much as a poor Vicaridge, not a blind Chapel, not a School was left them: Nay, tho they offer'd (as some of them did) to preach for nothing, it must not be allow'd them. And what was all this for but to promote a Rebellion, and Establish their Covenant thereby? Not only most unjust and illegal, but withal so Arbitrary and Insolent, as their own party divided from them, more especially on that account, and crumbled all Religion into Faction and Enthusiasme, Atheism and Anarchy: and whether the tottering condition we stand in at present, is more likely to be fix'd by that Lukewarm Laodicean latitude, many of our Clergy Chiefs, and their little mercenary Properties so much affect, or that resolute steadiness whereby the foremention'd worthies weathered the Storm, to a Miraculous Re-establishment, time may shortly discover. In the mean while 'tis no little satisfaction to every one who are really well-wishers to the prosperity of our Sion, to find in such a grand defection, so General a Debauch both in Principles and Practise, There hath a considerable set of Gentlemen appear'd so altogether of that Old Church Stamp, as to defie all the Invectives, Libels, and Lies, wherewith Faction on the one hand hath continually aspers'd them, nor on the other are so mean in Spirit, or Low in Fortune, as to be brought, or bought over to become State Weathercocks, let their regard of the Publick be turn'd to a quite contrary point, as the private Breach of some self interested persons, or parties are pleas'd to puff and Blow; yet whether the continued supply of Corrupt Humors and Republican Vapours, may not gradually make these winds so turbulent as to become Fanatick Storms or Legion Hurricans, overwhelming all Men of sober sense, or true Principles, Religion and Loyalty, is easily foreseen; but in a short time may be too late to be prevented by any but God himself, since such as might when time serv'd, will find themselves unable to stem, or otherwise escape the violent Current of their implacable Rage and Madness.

S E C T. IV.

The last *Section* presented us with a much more dismal *Scene* than the two former; for the *Cockatrice Egg* being hatch'd up into a formidable *Serpent*, the *Old Puritan* throwing of his *Vizard* and *Sheeps-cloathing* became right down *Presbyterian*, and that according to the worst *Edition* thereof, their *Kirk-neighbours* in *Scotland* *Covenanting* together, and violently overthrowing all *Antient Establishments* both in *Church* and *State*, and Imposing their *Classical Devices*, with other *Novel conceits*, both upon *Prince* and *People*, with as much *Arbitrariness* and *Insolence*, as ever was exercis'd by *Turk* or *Pope*. But they who taught the *Nation* to *Rebell* against their *King*, could not think to keep them long under their *Tyranny*, whose little *Fingers* were thicker than the others *Loins*, to be sure instead of *Whips* they were all *Scorpions*; so that crumbling as I said before, into numberless subdivisions of *Seëts*, and *Factions*; nothing at length could pass for true *Religion*, but *Enthusiasme*; whilst all *Law* and *Government* came to be controll'd by a *Lawless-Sword*; which by degrees brought the people to their *Right Wits* again, and forc'd them to return to the *Right*, and *Lawful Government*; as was likewise observ'd at first.

Now as it was *Religion*, that is the pretence thereof, which more especially turn'd all things out of *Order*, so upon that grand return, nothing took up the time, and thoughts of those in *Power*, both at *Court*, and *Parliament* more than how to deal with that *Miscellaneous Hotchpotch* of a *Pretended Clergy*, which had sprung up like *Tares*, *Cocles*, and *Weeds* in the *feild* of the *Church*, when there was none to take care of its *Culture*, *Fence*, or any other *managements* as to *Doctrinals*, *Order*, or *Discipline*. Yet were every of them at first so crest fallen, so conscious of their own guilt, and just deserts, as to look for a return of those *Laws* upon themselves which they had so presumptuously violated, but those fears soon vanish'd upon his *Majesties Declaration from Breda*, with the like assurances from those most injur'd here at home, that they had all a long us'd the *Lords Prayer*, and were as ready to forgive their *Trespases*, as they desir'd the forgiveness of

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their own from Almighty God ; and it was really so on their side, whether on the other, may be a question, from their Actings ever since, and hath often brought to my mind that Expression of *Tully*, *The Injur'd may, but the Injurer never forgives*. Nay, even in that very juncture they seem'd little inclin'd thereto, for tho the *Presbyterians* were very desirous to have the *Independants*, and other *Sectarys* dismounted, who had so contemptibly turn'd them out of the *Saddle* ; yet when *General Monk* had done that, and all things tended towards a *Restoration*, they earnestly press'd to have it on those *Rigorous Articles* at the *Isle of Wight Treaty* ; And then the King should have come home as he went into *Scotland*, and been us'd as he was there ; and since this was all, *Mr. Baxter* and his *Abridger* had better have never mention'd what a hand their Party had in *bringing the King back*. And when come they could not forbear harping upon that string, but adher'd to the *Covenant*, as if to take up Arms against their *Sovereign* whenever they think fit, had been a main *Article* in the *Old Magna Charta*, whereas 'twas never heard of till these new *Maxims* started by the *Jesuit and Presbyterian*, to subvert all Principles of *Religion and Government*.

But before they came to this *Discriminating Test*, there were several proposals past between the Church and *Dissenting Parties* in order to an *Accommodation*, which at first was term'd a *Coalition*, afterwards when the Church was settled, it went by the name of *Comprehension*, into which Seven or Eight of such as had been the the chief Leaders of the *Rebellion*, or most Officious in complying with the several usurp'd powers were proffer'd to be taken. At first some to have *Bishopricks* some *Deanaries*, &c. which they most Ambitiously affected, but the *Odium* they dreaded from their own Party, who were not backward in letting them know their Resentments : And the contempt so justly expected from associating with the other, which they had so violently declaim'd against, and abus'd in so infamous a manner, made them press for several Concessions and Alterations, which might seem in some measure to Justifie the many Confusions they had occasion'd : *Mr. Baxter* in the *Narrative of his Life* gives us a tedious process of the whole Transaction, and to be sure omits not to let us know how great a share he had therein, which indeed was so great, as by his own will, he himself would have been absolute

absolute *Dictator* to both Parties; according to the observation which that great Person *Bishop Sanderson*, equally profound in Judgment and Meekness made of his Deportment, *There was a certain person that appear'd to be so Bold, Troublesome and Illogical, as I never met a Man of more pertinacious confidence, and less Abilities in all his Conversation.*

*Isa. Wal-
sons Life
of Bishop
Sanderson.*

Yet since we have scarce any other account of that Affair but from him, I shall steer according to his Compass, and make these following Remarks upon what he relates. 1. That those few which he engag'd with, did with much difficulty accord in their proposals, and made them very general in order thereunto; and when they brake off without coming to any Agreement, went several ways, *Dr. Reynolds* and *Dr. Worth* were so far for a *Coalition*, as to take *Bishopricks*, and *Dr. Wallis* lov'd Money too well, to part with what he had got, but was rather for getting more; and why *Dr. Manton* who had took the *Engagement*, and been *Prelate to the Protectorship*, *Inaugurating* both *Oliver*, and *Richard Cromwell* with his Prayers, and blessings, should stand out a fresh for the Antiquated Covenant, and not turn *Churchman*, as he had before *Independant*, might probably be out of Scorn that they profer'd him a small *Deanary*, when *Calamy* and *Baxter* might have had *Bishopricks* as well as the two aforementioned: And whether the rest might not go upon the same mistake which very happily infatuated the greatest part of their Party, that if they resolutely stood out, the Church must come to them, for the People would never endure so great a *silence of the Word*, as would certainly be, when their *Stenterophonicks* were stopt, this I say was a conceit most, if not all of them were possess'd with; whereas there was more *Sence* and *sound Doctrine* preach'd throughout the *Kingdom* in one Twelve-months after their *Fatal Bartholomew*, than had been nigh Twenty years before.

2. I observe, that as those few could scarce agree among themselves, so several others no less Eminent for Learning, and had not trim'd between *Presbitery* and *Independancy*, at the loose rate of those Loose-times, stood out, and had not the confidence to expect any favour from the Church, which they had so evilly intreated, he mentions *Dr. Seaman*, *Horton*, *Tuckny*, with several others, and owns how fearful they were to communicate their project to too many in the City, least it should be absolutely rejected; as without doubt it would have been.

3. I observe the several Parties and Factions could never come to any thing of a *Coalition* among themselves, whereof Mr. Baxter gives several Instances how his *Pacifick Endeavours* fail'd, as well with private persons, as in Publick *Assemblies*; for all were of the same *Pacifick Temper* with himself, each one would recommend his own conceits, not only as true, but necessary; and if they were not received as the *Grand Rule of Faith*, nothing of *Salvation* could be expected, for what St. Paul so severely censur'd among the *Corinthians*, was their constant Practise, every one had a *Psalm*, a *Doctrine*, a *Tongue*, a *Revelation*, by himself; and so vented his little impertinent *Raptures*, without any regard to *Truth* or *Edification*. 'Tis a Comical passage Mr. Baxter relates, that when Cromwell had usurp'd the Government, and call'd a *Parliament*, something must be done about *Religion*, tho they could not tell what, only in general it was voted, that all should have a due measure of *Liberty* who profess'd the *Fundamentals*; but then what were *Fundamentals*, was too nice a question for a *Committee of Parliament* to resolve, and thereupon nominated certain *Divines* to draw up in *Terminis* the *Fundamentals of Religion*, the *Divines* were, *Marshal*, *Reyner*, *Cheyne*, *Owen*, *Nye*, *Simpson*, *Vines*, *Manton*, *Jacomb*, and Mr. Baxter at last was sent for to assist in so great a work, who contending for the *Dictatorship* with John Owen, relates several Scenes which pass'd between them, with much of *Parties*, but nothing to the *Point*: at last *Twenty Propositions* were agreed upon, (would not the *Twelve Articles of our Creed* done as well,) and printed to be presented to the *Parliament*. But being *Dissolv'd* before the *Address* was made, they are still to seek for *Fundamentals*. And to mention but one attempt more, tho many were essay'd, what a pudder was there among them in the beginning of the late *Revolution*, to make two *Sticks* one, and how did they part a sunder immediatly.

4. Which oblig'd me to observe in the last place, how unlikely it is they should ever come to a *Coalition* with the *Church of England*, who could never agree in any thing among themselves, for against that lies their utmost spite, their most irreconcilable *Enmity*, and whoever will have so much *Patience* as I have forc'd upon my self, to read over that tedious account Mr. Baxter gives of his *Life*, will find him design two things more especially thereby; first to extol and applaud his own dear self at so fulsome a *Rate*, as no modest *Heathen* much

much less *Christian* would be guilty of assuming; and as the consequent thereof, Defame and Slander the *Church*, and all her True Sons in so disrespectful, contemptuous a manner, as no person of *Common Civility* would discover so great a defect of *Manners*. What a Censure doth his swelling Spleen pass upon those *Right Reverend Prelates* at the *Savoy Conference*, whose Age rendered them *Venerable*, and their great Sufferings call'd for *Commiseration*, and yet under both these, their Age and Sufferings, there was more of *True Principles*, *Solid Learning*, with a *Meek and Charitable Disposition of Soul*, retain'd in each of them, than all the Managers on their side, with the whole party they appear'd for, did ever discover, any other way than in a *Cant of Words*. At the like *Censorious* rate, he treats those *Learned Doctors* their *Assistants*; only Dr. *Pearson* who so egregiously baffled him, upon the subject he chose to maintain, against *Imposing*, *Kneeling at the Reception of the Holy Sacrament*; he owns to be the *Strength and Honour of the Cause*, and yet doubts whether he heartily maintain'd it, whereas having since writ as strenuously as he then argued, and by his *Vindication of Ignatius's Epistles*, asserted *Episcopal Government* from the Apostles time, beyond the reach of *Cavill* or *Calumny*; and was most deservedly advanc'd to the same Order himself; none but a profest Hypocrite in the Highest Degree, could suspect such a Person to be unsincere in what he maintain'd and practis'd; and so as to all the rest, would any person who had the least share of that Mortification, and Self-Denial, Mr. *Baxter* so vainly commends himself for, shoot his Bolt thus at random, discover so much Affinity with that *Infernal Feind*, as to be the *Satanas*, the *Διδβολος*, the *Adversary*, the *Calumniator of the Brethren*, and that Exactly according to his Method, the worthier the Persons are, the more industrious in his *Slanders*.

Neither was their Carriage and Management of matters in order to this Coalition or Accommodation, with any more respect than that of Mr. *Baxters*, to the Persons of those they were to confer with; their first *Address and Proposals against the Church and Liturgy*, was answered by the Bishops in so succinct, yet full a manner, as nothing but an inveterate Prejudice and resolv'd Obstinacy could continue to make any further Debate; and therefore they tell you with a great deal of Passion, that no Answer was expected by them, but only their Concessions, how far they would abate of their former *Impositions*.

Mr. Bax.
L. p. 232.

p. 242.

p. 248.

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tions for attaining *Unity and Peace*; and term their Reply nothing, but *this Contradiction* which their haughty Spirits can least of all endure, especially, when so clear and convincing, as not to be reply'd unto with *Temper and Argument*. Whereas all the *King* authoris'd them to do, was to *Review and Correct*, whatever appear'd really corrigible in the *Old Liturgy*, not make a New one, which yet Mr. *Baxter* did in eight days time, as much above all others of that kind, in his own vain *Imagination*, as the *Ape* thought its ill-shapen Bratt, deserv'd a preference before all other *Beasts*. Neither could the *Bishops* Act any otherwise than as they did, in their private Capacity, The *Liturgy* being *Establish'd by Law*, could not be altered but in a *Legal Manner*, first in *Convocation*, and then confirm'd by *Act of Parliament*, which was accordingly done. Altho' before that, the *King* rightly inform'd them, that instead of the *Diocesans Concessions*, it was more proper for him to put all he thought fit to grant into the Form of a *Declaration*, which nevertheless their *Worships* would have the *Correcting and Altering* of, and the Account Mr. *Baxter* gives of their *Sollicitations and Importunities* for it, takes up more than twenty Pages in that tedious Book, which Compliance of his *Majesty* meeting nothing but words on their side, no actual Performance of what they profess'd to allow, made it very short liv'd.

Life p. 18.
259.

In the like tedious manner, he gives us the *Defence of their Proposals to his Majesty*, as likewise their *Exceptions* against the *Common Prayer*, with great care not to omit how great a share himself had therein, (which some think was one main cause, the whole Undertaking had so little Effect.)

Yet after all their Noise and Clamour, the *Bishops* were resolv'd not to run out with them into *Volumes of Objections and Answers*, but have them prove by *Disputation* what Alterations were fit to be made, and hear what they could reply to the contrary. This great undertaking, after many Proposals one way, and the other, was at last Devolv'd upon Dr. *Pearson*, and Mr. *Baxter*, who took upon him to maintain our *Church Impositions* sinful, this was manag'd by writing *Extempore*, each Party being drawn into a separate Room, sent their *Arguments and Objections pro & con*. The first and sole *Imposition* they oppos'd was that of *Kneeling at the Blessed Sacrament*, wherein Mr. *Baxter* relates his performance with a great deal of *Thrasenick Ostentation*; as likewise when the others Dr. *Pearson*

p. 346.

Pearson in particular became the *Opponent*, who forc'd his great *Goliath* to this unreasonable Shift, That no *Act* in it self Lawful ought to be commanded, because it may be per accidens unlawful, from which position I have already mention'd, what pernicious Consequences that great good Man *Bishop Morlye* observ'd to result, and shall now only relate *Mr. Baxters* thoughts thereupon when in a Cooler Mood; for in the 3d. part of his *Christian Directory* he declares, that no reason can be given, why a Lawful thing should become unlawful, because a Lawful Superior doth command it, else saith he, Superiors might take away our *Christian Liberty*, and make all things unto us unlawful by commanding them. So likewise in the same piece, he judgeth the Posture of Kneeling to be no less Lawful, than for a Person to receive a Pardon from his Prince upon his Knees. Yet here at the Conference, this is the First and consequently the chief of those Eight or Ten, nay afterwards Thirty or Forty Tremendous Points so unlawful and sinful, that Men fearing God could not submit to. And thus his Admirers deal with us still. Now the Difference between our Church and Dissenters is so inconsiderate, as 'tis strange a Coalition is not jump'd into immediately; but having got a little more ground, which every day they are stepping into; there will be such Tremendous Points started, as none must be endur'd that asserts them. p. 343.

I shall take notice but of one thing more, which *Mr. Baxter* and his *Abridger* make a mighty Noise about, for few others have insisted upon it, and that is *Archbishop Ushers* Re- p. 238. duction of Episcopacy, &c. whereto the Bishops reply'd, that it was form'd, and shew'd to some Persons in the year 1640, but not consistent, with two other discourses of the same Learned p. 244. Primate, upon the same Subject; both Printed in the next year 1641, and written with great diligence, and much Variety of Antient Learning, in neither of which is to be found any mention of the Reduction aforesaid; wherein are sundry things apparently private Conceptions of his own, accommodated at that time for the taking off some present Annimosities, but wholly destitute of any Colour, or Testimony, or President from Antiquity; nor is any such offer'd towards the proof thereof. Thus far these Reverend Prelates, in confirmation of what others have conjectur'd, that it was a hasty draught of something he might think necessary for the Reduction of the Church, which was then in a miserable Condition, but as they would not hear of it then, but went on to an utter Extirpation both Root and Branch, there is little

the reason it should be Listen'd to afterwards, when people were return'd to their right *Wits*, and sensible of the manifold *Infatuations* which arose from such *Novel Conceits*.

p. 303.

The four *Kalendar Months*, to which their *Commission* was confin'd, (and time long enough in all reason) expiring, the *Conference* ended in *Course*; and as the *King* fail'd not of an account from the *Prelates*, where Mr. *Baxter* found they had represented him as the most troublesome of the whole pack; so they were resolv'd to give him an account of themselves in an *humble Petition* as they term'd it, drawn up by the same hand, and with the same *Assurance*, so that any body but themselves wou'd have it a *Pharisaical Remonstrance* of their own *Abilities* and *Godliness*, with the gross *Mistakes* and *Want of Sanctity*, of such as were not of their *Perswasion*. besides their frequent and fearful *Out-cries* of *Persecutions* and *Sufferings*, when themselves had been the *Persecutors* for twenty years together, and as yet had suffer'd nothing but from their *guilty Consciences* and *just Fears*.

p. 366.

Thus ended the *Coalition Project*, which as it was entred into at first by a small number, without any assurance that a tenth part of their Party would assent to what they should resolve upon; so was it manag'd by them with so many *cross Purposes* and *numberless Exceptions*, one *Tremendous Point* or other being every day started afresh, as had their *Opposites* been as inclinable to wrangle as themselves, the *Conference* might have lasted as long as the *Council of Trent*, and ended with as little satisfaction to all Men of Sense and Principle. But now the *Convention* was dissolv'd, and a *Parliament* call'd according to our *Ancient Establishment*, and therewith a *Convocation*, which fell upon making some *Alterations* in, and *Additions* to the *Common Prayer*, wherein their general Aim was, to use their own excellent Words. *Not to gratifie this or that Party in any of their unreasonable demands: but to do that which to our best understandings, we conceiv'd might most tend to the Preservation of Peace and Unity in the Church; the procuring of Reverence, and exciting of Piety and Devotion in the publick Worship of God, and the cutting off Occasion, from them that seek Occasion of Quarrel and Cavil against the Liturgy of our Church, &c.* So is their Declaration in that excellent *Preface*, in the whole of which tho' but short, the dispute is more exactly stated to every one that seek peace, than by a thousand *Exceptions* and *Replies*, *Oppositions* and *Answers*, which contentious *Spirits* so much delight in.

Pref. to
Common
Prayer.

All

All which the *Parliament* very well understood, and therefore resolv'd to Establish the new alter'd *Common Prayer Book*, by a new Act of *Uniformity*, and because the *Covenant* was the *Diana* for which those turbulent Spirits had made so many *Up- roars*, and still continued to cry up, they oblig'd every one admitted into any Ecclesiastical Benefice to swear, *They believ'd no Obligation lay upon them, nor any other Person by that Oath to endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government either in Church or State, and that it was impos'd against the known Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom*: so clear and self evident a truth, as after Mr. *Baxters* many hundred *Distinctions*, and more than *Jesuitical Evasions*, no Government can be safe, where any *Members* of it entertain and promote such a Notion. And therefore none but ours would ever have permitted the very persons, which wrought so much confusion thereby, first to *Scruple the Abjuration*, and then going gradually on in their old Track, stand up for and justify it. The *Parliament* indeed having most of them seen and sadly felt the Execrable Effects thereof, engag'd the whole *Legislative Power* to enact the fore- mention'd Oath.

But their Friends the *Papists*, having too great an Influence upon the *Executive*, kept things at such a loose Indifferency, that no Laws could be executed, but what were so contriv'd as to execute themselves; which yet the Students in that black Art found Ways and Means to frustrate, or render very un- easie and vexations in the *Prosecution*.

Thus while the Law stood still, *Faction* stood at Bay, turn'd its head, and bark'd boldly against such as had press'd a Ne- cessity of their being *Muzzled*, or otherwise *Confin'd*, and found a great many Setters on, as well of their own Party which had come into the Church, as their old Friends, who found they might take a much greater Freedom than at first in giving them countenance. Besides several young Men in the *Univer- sities*, *Cambridge* more especially, who had hitherto seemingly acquiesc'd with abundant Satisfaction in the *Re-establishment* of our Rites and *Discipline*, guessing at the *Executive Powers* In- clination by its Remissness, began to talk of *Enlarging the Churches pale*, that a further *Latitude* might be admitted, a greater Freedom allow'd, by comprehending several of the most *Moderate Dissenters*, (were there ever any such?) which they would readily do, upon an Abatement of some of our Church *Impositions*, but could not tell how many, and as

they hop'd, never demand more. This Discourse first commenc'd upon his Majesty's setting forth his first *Declaration* for indulging tender Consciences, which as I observ'd before was forg'd at *Somerset House*; and from this time forward, both the name and thing began to be the common Subject, wherewith every *dabler in Politicks* would be shewing his Skill, undertake to correct *Magnificat*, without reflecting upon what the Proverb adds. However the Project went no farther than common discourse, so long as the *Earl of Clarendon* had the Seal; but his Successor *Sir Orlando Bridgman* being advanc'd to that great Post, thought to render himself popular, by reducing these fond *Speculations* to practice.

But before I come to proceed herein, it will be requisite to give an account of the *Universities*, how they were dealt with in the *Rebellion*, and in what state and condition they stood at the *Restoration*. When that bloody Scene first open'd, these two equal Sisters met with a very different treatment, though equally *Tragical* in the end; the *King* after the first pitch'd Battle at *Edg-Hill*, retired to *Oxon*, and whilst out of the Field, made that his constant place of Residence during the whole War, so that instead of *Arts and Sciences*, *Arts and Arms* were their sole Study; and the *Recess* of the *Muses* became the Grand *Asylum* for oppressed *Royalists* from all parts of the Kingdom. *Cambridge* on the other side, being within those *Associated Counties*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, &c. whereon the *Parliament* had fixed their Paw's, and with that grand *Metropolis* of *Rebellion*, made the chief *Magazine* of supply with *Men and Money*, became the head *Quarters* of that *Association*; where the *Earl of Manchester* as *General*, with a select *Committee* of the same *Leven*, fell to that cursed Work of *Reformation*; which they fail'd not to put in *Execution* wherever they came; but in the *University* with a severer *Rigour*, because it was a whole *Body of Loyalty*, and *True Religion*, (some few rotten Members excepted) for *Number*, *Parts*, *Principles* equally formidable to the *Mischiefs* they design'd. So that not one *Colledge* escap'd the *Rage* of their *Military Execution*, in some, *Masters and Fellows* were all turn'd out; and most of the *Schollars and Students*, ay, and *Servants* too deserted, in detestation of such inhumane *Procedures*, from such *Religious Zealots* and pretenders to redress *Grievances*. To give an Instance or two how much they slighted any thing that was *Just or Right*, *Dr. London* Fellow of *Cains Colledge*,
being

being then upon his Travels in *Italy*, as their Statutes allow; especially to such as are *Physicians*, had a good *Library* and two well furnished *Chambers* sequestred, and actually carried off, upon this sole Allegation, that had he been at home they were sure he would have been of the King's Party: And another Instance, they turned the good *Bishop Brownrick* out from his Mastership of *Katharine-Hall* because preaching as *Vice-Chancellor* on his *Majesties Anniversary*, he gave him a just, great Character: Yet very Loyal Subjects still. At this Arbitrary rate they proceeded a considerable time, but afterward, having engaged the *Scots* to assist them with another Army, which they would do upon no other Terms than our engaging to enter into their Covenant, it was comply'd with, and made the Grand Test, the mark of distinction between a *Royalist* and a *Rebel*, and caus'd first and last, more than twice two thousand Vacancies throughout the Kingdom. And though it was not proffer'd to every Member in the University, yet such as they found to be any way's Active, tho' but in Discourse, they forced away with this *Scotch Spell*, which served as a hank upon the rest, to let them see what they must expect, upon discovering the least dis-satisfaction, at their most destructive *Kirk Alliance*.

Upon this general exclusion throughout every Society, care was taken of a supply by such Persons as would be sure to carry on the Work according to the *Geneva Platform*; wherein their cheif supply was from pure *Emanuel*, originally founded for a *Nursery of Puritanism*, and had all along promoted those prejudices too much, first in the University, and from thence throughout the Kingdom: for their *Fellowships* being temporary, so as to stay there such a Term of Years, the greater obligations lay upon them to be qualified for a remove into the World, and upon this account likewise there was a stricter Discipline kept up, and more constant Exercise than in any other Colledge, by which means they sent abroad too many, unless their Principles and conformable Dispositions had been answerable to their Parts and Learning. And methinks this alone should caution the Government not to connive at any Societies, when they become Seminaries of Faction and Schism, or any Party of Men which associate together upon that account. To be sure one half of the most violent Men in the *Westminster Assembly*, both *Presbiterians* and *Independants*, were of this Colledge, and upon this University re-

form, of *Twelve Head's* turn'd out, six of them were supply'd from them, or such as had been Educated there, as *Hill, Tuckney, &c.* who were call'd out of the Country; with whole Colonies of Fellows almost in every Colledge: by which means they went on vigorously in setting up their *Holy Discipline*, and had some that way Educated from *Oxon*, and all the Children of that Party, were from henceforward sent thither to be brought up in this New *Geneva*, which no Zeal was wanting to Establish, and indeed for the time they had carried it to a considerable height; but to show, 'twas more like to *Babel*, than the true *Sion*, the *Builders* became soon divided both in *Tongues* and *Hearts*, and the whole Work confounded. For the *Parliament* Grandees of the *Presbyterian Junto*, having most infamously ruined both *King* and *Kingdom*, and made their own Ordinances as uncontrollable as *Mahomet's Bowstring*; in the height of their Carreer, were stopt by that Mungrel Sect themselves had spawn'd, the *Independants*; whose Notions being more agreeable to the Army Liberties, prevail'd generally there, for *Cromwell* finding his projects going on beyond expectation, countenanc'd every upstart *Enthusiast*, both in *Army* and elsewhere, that there was not fewer *Religious Frenzy's* among them than *Troops* and *Companies*, at which the *Presbyterians* for a while stormed most furiously, that their *Idoliz'd Covenant* should so soon become a *Nebushtan*, be broken down and trodden under foot, but when they saw the Army so bold as to take the *King* from the Commissioners, their Patrons in *Parliament* had committed him to, and then march up to *London*, seize the City, and turn all the *Leading Members* of their Party out of the House, this threw them into a thorough Despair, several of their loudest *Bell-weather's* turning *Independants*, as *Marshal, Caryll, &c.* and most of the rest continued *Auter Deux*, submitted to every change which came uppermost, the better to secure those unjust Possessions they had intruded into. For in the year 47, the *Historian* put a period to the *Presbyterian Usurpation*, both *Clergy* and *Laiety*, telling us how after those numberless mischiefs they had brought upon *King* and *Kingdom*, *Church* and *State*, they were upon a sudden scattered like *Dust* before the *Wind*, turn'd out of all, and publicly expos'd to contempt and scorn; and that so easily with so little Noise, that the loss of their exorbitant Power did not cost so much as a broken Head, or a bloody Nose, in purchasing whereof, they had wasted so many Millions of *Treasure*, and more than one hundred thousand *Lives*.

But

But before I proceed thereto, it will be requisite to step over to *Oxon*, and see how it far'd with them under the *Triumphs of a Rebel Sword*. I observ'd before how the King had fix'd his Court there, and tho' twice or thrice attempted; yet so long as his Army could keep the Field, those attempts came to nothing: but when the one was lost, the other could not long hold out. *Fairfax* therefore coming before it, and the *Garrison* having no prospect of Relief, surrendred towards the end of 46, where the *Nobility, Gentry and Military Men* had such tollerable Articles as the *Grandees at Westminster* were unwilling to ratifie; but the *Commanders* having some sense of Honour, which their Masters never had, obliged them to reason; the *University* in the mean while was left wholly to the *Parliaments Mercy*, who never shewed any to a *True Son of the Church*; yet several of their Party, who were not so hot as the rest, began now more seriously to reflect upon the bad Condition they had brought the Nation unto; and among other things, laboured earnestly to prevent the *Sectaries* making like havock with the *University Revenue*, as the *Presbiterians* had done with that of the *Church*; at which their Fingers continually itch'd; and every fresh ferment of *Democratick Fury* must have a motion leading that way. The *Learned Selden* at first took much pains upon this account, and afterwards *Cromwell*, to give the *Devil his due*, did continually stave off all their barbarous Attempts. However the *Loyal Church Party* must be routed from this, as well as the others, but by what course or method was so difficult as they were the whole Year of 47 hammering about it, made some little Efforts by *Committees and Ordinances*, and that was all. But in April 48. *Philip E. of Pembroke* the re-assumed *Chancellor*, went down with a Troop of *Visitors*, having the *Governour and Garrison* to their Assistance, and marching from *Colledge to Colledge*, dispossess every *Master and Fellow*, who was not *Covenant proof*, breaking open their Lodgings and Chambers, put others presently in possession; thus *Dr. Reynold's* was made *Dean of Christ Church*, *Wilkinson* *President of Magdalen's*, *Palmer* a Member of *Parliament*, *Warden of All-Souls*, *Cheynell* of *St. Johns*, *Dr. Wilkins* of *Wadham*, &c. in the Places of *Dr. Morley*, *Dr. Over*, *Dr. Sheldon*, *Dr. Bayly*, and *Dr. —*, with the like treatment, in a most insolent and ungentile manner, of every Member who had any principle of *Honour or Honesty* throughout that worthy Body. And doubtless it was as glorious

rious a Scene of *Passive Loyalty*, acted upon the most abstracted considerations of *Duty* and *Conscience*, as the History of any Age or Church can produce. Yet though there were some Men of *Parts* and *Learning* to supply the *Headship's*, they could find few for *Fellows*; in defect whereof they were forc'd to be content with the *scum* of *Cambridge*, who fled thither Tag and Rag, as likewise every little Country *Pedagogue*, sniveling *Curate* or *Army holderforth*, if they could make a wry *Face*, and look like Fools, were sure to be sped, as hoping they might prove Men of *Gifts*, tho' without parts. But the *Triumphs* of *Presbitery*, here too, were short liv'd; for towards the end of this year the *King was Murther'd*; which produced the *Engagement* in the next, most uneasie to their *Covenanting Spirits*. Dr. Reynolds demur'd thereon so long, till by the sleight and artifice of *Cromwell*, John Owen was got into his place; and though the Dr. upon second Thoughts, and good *Female Advice*, complied at length and took the *Engagement*, yet was it too late to save his *Bacon*, the *Parliament* would neither restore his *Deanary* nor give him back his *Oath*, as that witty *Buffoon Harry Martin* expostulated with his Brethren of the *Rump*. By the like artifice of *Cromwell*, Thomas Goodwyn, though a *Cambridge Man*, because a great confident of his, was thrust into *Magdalen's*, which two, Owen and Goodwyn were the chief *Pillars*, the very *Patriarchs* of *Independency*, not but that they had several others who went along with them in carrying on their Work; Cheynell's turbulent Spirit made way for thankful Owen at *St. John's*; a very tractable tool to his Namesake, and Marshall of *New-Colledge*, another *Cambridge Man*, was no less industrious for their Cause. In short, most of them, more or less, ran the same course with John Owen, who having got to be *Cromwell's Vice-Chancellor*, threatned as many Innovations to the *University*, as they had already brought into the *Church*.

The only Person that with any vigour appeared against these Maggotty, New-fangel'd Humours was Dr. Wilkins, who being of a free obliging disposition, and ready to Patronize all true Learning and Ingenuity, headed a Party, which tho' much out-numbred, as much out-weigh'd the impertinent Cants of *Enthusiasme* and Folly; and 'tis presum'd in that Age of Liberty, they paid him the greater respect, because though brought up a *Presbyterian*, yet the frankness of his temper and disposition, would not permit him to affect any thing of their

their *Morose Humours* or *Rigid Impositions*, but left every Man to his own *Latitude*, who seeing so many mischiefs by contending about the several points in Debate among them, discouraged all disputes upon those Subjects, and thought it much more preferable to acquiesce in a *Natural Religion*.

Thus the *Rebel Sword* having got all things under its Tyranny, and to their numberless other Villanies, added that execrable Fact of taking the King out of our Israel, every one was left at liberty to do what seemed right in his own Eyes; which brought a deluge of *Licentiousness* over the whole Nation, yet thought much better than their *Covenant Impositions*; to be sure among the rest to return to our young Men at Cambridge, they were very glad of so happy an opportunity to throw off the *Presbyterian Rigours*, and exert a freer course of Studies, than what their *Schismatical Kirk Tutors* had hitherto forc'd them upon; so that however some heavy *Blockheads* having nothing else to recommend them, followed the *Common Cant* of the times, with *Noise* and *Nonsense*, *Blasphem'd God*, and *Abused the People*; these, others scorn'd to condescend to such empty shifts, and ridiculous impertinencies, but in opposition thereunto, generally used *sett Forms of Prayer*, though oft-times too fanciful and light, in their *Chappel Courses* and *Pulpit Performances*; and for *Preaching*, the Authors they most quoted in their Sermons, were the *Antient Greek Moralists*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, &c. or rather their *Commentators* and *Followers*, as *Proclus* and *Plotinus*, *Porphory*, *Jamblicus*, with *Epictetus*, *Arrian*, and others of the *Stoicks*; one Mr. Smith, who went from *Emanuel* to *Queens* at the first replanting of that Colledge, (for 'twas there more especially that not only the *Masters* and *Fellows*, but every *Schollar* and *Student*, nay the very *Servants* too had left it, and would have nothing to do with these new *Intruders*, as already related) was a great Master in this sort of Learning, as appears by his *select Discourses*, which were Printed by a Friend of his (now in our Prelacy) soon after his *Death*; one of the most diverting pieces of *Philosophical Enthusiasme* a Man shall any where meet with; such *Allegorical Raptures*, and pretty high flown *Conceits*, as he seem'd to be going the same way, which *Origen*, and several other *Platonizing Christians* were blam'd for in the *Primitive Times*: but young Men led more by *Fancy* than *Judgment*, must naturally be much taken therewith, and accordingly his *Pupils*, and other Admirers in the Colledge, fell altogether into that

that way, and were soon followed by several throughout the whole University; and their performances by way of distinction or pre-eminence, were term'd *Rational Discourses*; wherein some shew'd much Reading, and a true Understanding of the foremention'd *Authors*, but as no Excellency is without its *fordid Imitators*, so others affecting that *Attamode* way, would entertain you with a *Rapsody of Bombast Words*, and long *mysterious Periods*, which being read with a distinct *Emphasis* and grave *Deportment*, could not but bespeak your Expectation of something extraordinary, some profound *Notion* or other, whereas when exactly scan'd, 'twas *Arena sine valce*, as frothy as whipt Cream, without any thing which tended either to *inform* or *edifie*.

Whether that new Term of *Rational Discourses*, and the great Veneration paid to those *old Greek Authors*, had not a tendency to give a more than ordinary preference to *Natural Religion*, some did much suspect; to be sure the *Ancient* course of Studies was wholly laid aside, whilst these our young *Athenians*, were intent upon nothing more than what was *new and strange*. *Aristotle's Philosophy* was altogether exploded, the more for that it was introductory to the crabbed *Notions* of the *Schoolmen*. Neither could they much relish *Calvin's Institutions*, (which had been formerly an *Oracle* among the Party) or any other such like *Modern System's*, especially when they insisted upon the *Ropes of Fatality*, and *Reprobation Decrees*, which their *Patrons* of the *Classis* most rigorously imposed. For tho' the *Reformation Purge* was as strong as *Gunpowder*, yet had it left some of the *Episcopal Party* still in that Body, and several of the well Educated Youths of the *Loyal Party* were sent under their charge, and firmly adher'd to those Principles their *Parents* either fought or suffered for; and what by conversing with them, and reading those excellent Discourses the *Church of England* every Day sent abroad, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Taylor*, &c. every one saw under the *Precisian Vail*, and that such as wore it, according to what hath been already observ'd, were *Stoicks in Doctrine*, and *Cynicks in Behaviour*, and doubtless there was nothing fermented more the *Presbyterian Gall*, and made their *Spleen* swell, than to see *Arminianisme*, which they had so violently decry'd in *Archbishop Laud* and the *Church Party*, most vigorously maintain'd by their own *Creatures*, nay some of their *Children*; in so much as in all *Publick Exercises* no questions were so frequently started, or
more

more positively maintained than what related thereto; and at
St. Mary's you should frequently have a young fellow extolling
 the Learned *Hammond* and *Grotius*, as the best *Expositors* of
Scripture, and such as had irrefragably stated the true Extent of
Christian Liberty, without which Mankind would be alltoget-
 her Uncapable of Rewards or Punishments,
 And had they stop'd here, so *Orthodox* a Profession would have
 built them up in a most holy Faith; but as all brisk high flown
 imaginations, naturally affect *Paradoxes*; and tis the difficultest
 part of *Discipline*, when most exactly Kept up, to restrain them;
 in an Age wholly addicted to Novelty and Innovation, the
 other they go, the greater they think their Accomplishments.
 Now to please such an humour as this, the *Socinian Authors*
 are exactly calculated; from whence they were equally fur-
 nished with several well manag'd Cavils against the *Authority*
 of the *Ancients*; and had the Unreasonable Froppishness of the
Geneva Reformers so ingeniously expos'd, as there was both *Ar-*
gument and *Delight* in consulting them. Neither is there any
 Doubt, but that clear *Elegancy of Stile*, and pretty *Rhetorical*
 way of Arguing, so peculiar to those writers; *Anticipated*
 their Fancy to that degree, as no room was left to discover the
 Snake in the Grass, the *Heterodoxes* and *Heresies* most cunningly
 catch'd, and craftily insinuated; for notwithstanding their
 many plausible pretences to clear *Solid Reason*, a strict inquiry
 into the impartial Judgment of things; I ever observed them to
 be no less prejudic'd in their *New Courses* both of *Philosophy*
Divinity, than those *Old Scholastick Aristotelians* whom
 they so industriously endeavour'd to Expose; for whereas the
Philosopher consults all their several *Hypotheses*, and with
 equal regard observe wherein they fall short, or on the
 other side, advance any thing as to the improvement either
 of *Natural* or *Moral Knowledge*; Nothing could be of Value
 to them but the great *Des Cartes*, whom to consult without
 a good Foundation in the *Mathematicks*; is as fruitless as to
 consult *Geography* or *Astronomy* without having the least acquain-
 tance with the Globes; Yet I blush to think how positive a
 company of young fools of us were as to every Notion of his,
 whose brains turn'd round with his *Vortices*, and our unthinking
 heads could no where be Lodg'd but in that Sink of a *Glandule*
 where he had so nastily plac'd it; but how to move his *Ma-*
 chine of a *Body* we were at a great Loss, till *Dr. More* help'd
 us with an *Anima Mundi* to manage that unweildy *Mass*; in

short every New conceit was as acceptable as *New Lights* among the *Enthusiasts*; even to Mr. *Hobbs Status Belli*, which shews how stanch our *Morals* were like to be, when all *Innate Notions* of Good and Evil were exploded. Hence it appears how defective we all were in his first and main *Principle of Laying aside Prejudice*; otherwise we could never have so shamefully ridicul'd the Old *Aristotelian* way, without considering the *Learnedest Men*, our, or any *Church* ever had were brought up in that *Course*, and therefore not safe to try an experiment, but oblige the *Youth* to begin there, continue their *Publick Exercise* as formerly, it being soon enough when of riper Judgment, if that did not bring it on, to advise them against all *Magisterial Dictates*; and with a free range examine the several pretenders to that truth; which upon there utmost diligence it would be hard to find; Especially since all controversies for several *Centuries* past, had been Manag'd that way, and for close *Arguing* there is none like it, as experience doth every day more and more discover, to the no little Advantage of our Adversaries both at Home and Abroad.

But *Reflections* upon consequences, in those *Divided times* were altogether laid aside; and I could never observe to have been much regarded since. Among other peices *Dr. Taylor's Liberty of Propheying*, came out about that time, which he told the *King* was designed for his *Majesties Service*, but that *Excellent Prince* and all his *Worthy Clergy*, were very averse to purchase the least good by bad means; to be sure among others, these our high flyers, being then just got upon the wing, esteem'd it as an *Oracle* finding his *Arguments* would give them leave to use the same *Freedom in Divinity*, as they had already in *Philosophy*; so that taking *Amsterdam* in their Passage, they Consulted *Episcopus Cyrcelleius*, and some other of the *Dutch Remonstrants* there, (who paid too little regard to *Antiquity*, and the *Primitive Church*) they went forward to *Crellius*, *Volckellius*, *Eujedimus*, &c. with the whole set of those *Racovion Authors*, Admiring them for great *Masters of Reason*, and such as had very happily explain'd all holy *Scripture* according to that *Tenor*. And this I personally know further, that *Crellius de Uno Deo*, was the *Author* recommended to every *Young Student* they had hopes of, when he first Apply'd himself to *Divinity*, with several other private *Advices* tending that way. But when the *Church* was E-

stablish'd

establish'd, and our *Publick Disputations* ran in their *Old Channel*, they were Oblig'd to Swim with the Stream, and bend their Studies that way; Altho with many of them, twa's like a *forc'd Match*, the first courted continued *Mistriss* of their Affections.

At this Extravagant rate, was every man Free to follow his own *Freakish Enthusiasms*, or fancyful *Heterodoxy's*, not only thorough both the Universities, but the whole Kingdom, when *King Charles* return'd from his *Exile*; which must likewise suppose that all such as had been Exil'd at home for their *Religion and Loyalty*, should likewise return to their just rights: and considering what distractions follow'd the *Churches Ruin*, the *Monarchy* could not be thought to subsist without its *Establishment*, in Order whereunto 'twas Necessary to reflect, that the *Old Sequestred Worthies*, being many of them gone off, and such as weather'd the Storm, very much decay'd by *Age and ill Usage*, so that however with *Ezra and his Antients*, who return'd from the *Babylonish Captivity*, they assisted in refounding our *Sion*, yet the work would shortly fall into other hands, who being Educated in those times of *Anarchy and Licentiousness*, might not rightly understand, or be prejudic'd against, what conduc'd most to finishing thh work, and continuing the same according to *Original, Primitive Perfection*. In order whereunto they had epecially an Eye upon the *Universities*, as the grand *Seminaries of Learning*, and from whence alone a supply of Clergy men could be Expected.

Oxford herein had much the Advantage, for the *Arch-Bishops* successively, and most of the other *Bishops* concern'd in Church affairs, were of that University, and the *Lord Chancellour of the Kingdom*, being chosen theirs, had no less regard, and assisted as much to fix them upon their *Old Basis*, as any of those others; So, that as I remember, *Commissioners* were deputed to re-establish all the *Sequestred Members*, and Make what other Reforms should be thought *Requisite*, to repair its Breaches, and retrieve its *Pristine Lustre*. They were very happy Likewise in several worthy persons among them, who took great pains in Order to that good work, particularly *Doctor afterwards Bishop Fells* indefatigable industry, and vigorous circumspection, hath every day. since he went off, appear'd more valuable than other.

Cambridge in this Lucky juncture fell into much worse hands

hands, for the *Presbyterian Heads* finding so great likelihood, of that great change, had a *Congregation* call'd, as if in course upon Ordinary Affairs, and there, by a *Plurality* of such *Confidants* as they had engag'd, chose the *Earl of Manchester* their *Chancellour*, who being likewise *The Kings Chamberlain* and in much favour at Court, as all those especially of the *Presbyterian Rebellion* were, there was no retrieving it, which the University, as it then stood, had they known the design, they could and would have easily prevented; but their resentment was no ways comparable to that of the *Sequestred Masters and Fellows*, who must go to him as *Chancellor*, and the *Kings Chamberlain*, for a *Re-admission*, who had turn'd them out, as the *Parliaments General*, but that was the least of those hardships, the *Poor Cavaliers* at that juncture were forc'd to put up, and thereupon the *Necessity* submitted to. Besides the surviving *Heads*, Doctor *Fern* had King *Charles I.* grant for *Trinity*, and thereby remov'd Doctor *Wilkins*, plac'd there by his Nephew *Richard Prosector*, and Doctor *Whitchcoate* was not thought fit to be continued in that other Royal Foundation of *Kings-Colledge*, but forc'd to give place to a *Mandate* for Doctor *Fleetwood*. And there being a strong *Episcopal* party among the *Fellows* of *St. Johns* they heav'd at Doctor *Tuckney*, and fix'd upon Doctor *Gunning* for his *Successor*, who, as I remember was in the *Regius Professorship*, which the other had before the turn, and finding this as little tenable, compounded for 100 *Pound per Annum* during his life, and sat down very quietly, expressing himself many times concern'd at the *Heats*, and *Factions* his *Brethren* so violently continued. These were all the considerable *Alterations* made there in that great change of Affairs, very few being turn'd out, but such as were possess'd of honest Mens Places, and even they, if of any Worth, had other *Plaers* found for them, and all the rest both *Masters and Fellows*, besides the *Act of Indemnity*, had a corroboration from their *Chancellor*, commission'd I presume by the *King*, which strengthned every thing Amiss in their *Flaw'd Titles*, and undue *Elections*.

Being thus secur'd as to their *Legal Rights*, there was a grateful return made in a more general conformity to our *Church Liturgy* than could be expected after so great a *Defection*; and our *University Pulpit*, had frequent Sermons in defence both of its *Doctrine and Discipline*, Whilst our *Two Professors*

in the Divinity Chair, Doctor Gunning, and Doctor Pearson deterr'd any one from Starting their former Paradoxes in those Disputations. But the Mind is not so easily bent as the Body, it requires a great command of a Mans self, to lay aside such Prejudices, as Education, Custom and Prepossession had lodg'd there; which was soon discovered in those Gentlemen, who had given themselves the swing of their New Philosophy, and New Divinity, aforementioned; which they were not backward to discover in their Common Discourse, how requisite it was to have a greater Latitude allow'd, a more generous Freedom as to Matters of Opinion, and Religious Practise, than our Church Articles, Rubrick and Cannons confin'd men unto. Archbishop Laud and his Clergy, were indeed a good sort of Men, but of too narrow a Principle, so much Addicted to the Ancient Fathers, Councils, and Schoolmen, as not to Exert that Strength of Reason, and Freedom of thought, where-with human Nature indulgeth every ingenious Mind. And from their frequent use of that Term Latitude, and earnest pleading for it, some Persons as were satisfied with the no necessity thereof, nor advantage accruing to the Church thereby, fix'd upon them the Name of *Latitudinarians*, and I knew the Persons who first started it, and in what Company. They first began with Philosophy, and because the old return'd Fellows were zealous for that of Aristotle, set themselves more vigorously to expose it, than before. There was a Fellow of Christs Colledge, whose Name I shall mention by and by, Printed A brief Account of the new Sect of Latitude Men, together with some Reflections on the new Philosophy, by way of Letter to a Friend at Oxford. Very ingeniously Penn'd, and to be sure with a plausible account of the Party, but could not forbear to recommend Moderation in their Latitude Sence, as it is now cry'd up afresh, and how they accomodated themselves to the People who were mostly possess'd by the Presbyterians, as he saith, and represents them very formidable, which shews him more their Friend than the Churches, and is a gross untruth, the Presbyterians being the least of all the Factions, and such as the People would the least adhere unto; towards the end he makes a very pretty Story to expose the Aristotelians, and with like Latitude he might have done the same with the whole Body of Christian Religion, nay God himself. Yet after all, 'tis only his dull plodding Commentators, they make themselves so merry with, not one in forty of them having ever read

50. read *Aristotle's* Text, or were capable to understand the *Language* or *Sence* he abounds in; whereas such as were, have in all Ages given him the preference to those many great Men, *Greece* abounded withall about his time. But not to insist upon the *Ancients* Authority, with Men altogether given up to *Novel Conceits*, I shall produce a Persons, they must own unexceptionable in this Case, their great Master, Friend and Patron *Dr. Cudworth*, who in that his Elaborate and Learned Book, *The System of the Intellectual World*, declares that as
 55. the *Atomical* or *Mechanical* Philosophy was *Ancientest*, so at first they were neither *Atheists* nor *Corporealists*, but held an *Immortality* of Souls, with a *Deity* distinct from the *Corporeal World*; till *Democritus*, *Lucippus*, and others, setting up for *Atheists*, would build up a *World* out of meer passive Bulk, and sluggish matter, without any *decal* Senses, any active Principles, or incorporeal Powers: this was oppos'd by *Plato*, but being not so inclinable in Philosophy as *Theology*, made no considerable progress therein, whereas his Scholar *Aristotle* not only trod in his Steps in asserting an incorporeal *Deity*, an *Immortal* first Mover, but also by *Philosophising* by *Forms* and *Qualities*, and rejecting the *Mechanical* way by *Atoms*. And then the Doctor comes to this Determination. Now I say the whole *Aristotelian* System, is infinitely to be preferr'd before the *Democratical*; tho' the former have been so much disparag'd, and the other cry'd up of late among us: because tho' it cannot be deny'd, but that the *Democratick* Hypothesis do much more handsomely solve the *Corporeal* Phenomena, yet in all those other things which are of far the greatest Moment, 'tis rather a Madness than Philosophy. But the *Aristotelick* System is right and sound here, as to those great things; its asserting an *Incorporeal Substance*, a *Deity* distinct from the *World*, the naturalty of *Morality*; and liberty of *Will*. Thus far this Learned Doctor, like a true Philosopher gives an impartial Account of their several Principles, and as the *Mechanical* way was soon abus'd then, so the reviving those Notions in this loose Age of ours, hath contributed as much as any thing, to that *Deluge* of *Atheism*, which is every Day flowing in upon us.

The Author having made this little *Essay*, in defence of their Party, and *Philosophick Freedom*, could not hold his hand, but must on to *Divinity* too, beginning with an *Account* of *Origin's* Opinions, vindicating all those *Heterodoxies* and *Platonick Fancies*, although it hath been all along questioned, whether he
 ever

ever maintained the grossest of them, and not rather falsely charg'd by his Enemies; but here they must pass for his, and be defended from all those severe Censures and Prejudices, some too narrow spirited Christians fix'd upon them. This alarm'd our Professors and most of the new return'd Heads very much; Dr. Gunning more especially; and whether by his means is not certain, tho' alledg'd so by the Party, was represented in the Convocation, which soon after began to sit, as of dangerous consequence, and consequently an Inquiry who was the Author, which I presume they might understand to be one Mr. Leigh of Christs-Colledge, a Person of very good parts, and studious enough to improve them, but withal very positive in whatever he had espous'd, as all Men of warm Constitutions are, which was in him to an high degree, and that being precipitated by a violent Fever, set his *Earthy Vehicle on Fire*, and resolv'd it into *Dust and Ashes*; whereupon the Inquest died with him, without any further notice of the Book or Author. Dr. Henry Moor was some time after question'd in Consistory, I presume, by the Heads of the University, for somewhat he had Publish'd not agreeable to sound Doctrine, and several Articles or Arguments exhibited, whereto he Printed an Answer; which the Heads took ill, that he should trouble the Publick with what ought to have gone no further than their own Private Body; whereto Dr. Beaumont made a solid and brisk reply; among other things letting the Doctor know, that in a Poem he Writ during the late Rebellion, how rudely he had Ridicul'd the Bishops by the Name of Pico, (a Quibble upon the Colour of their Habits) for thrice Boming when they preach'd before the King, and so on reflecting upon their Preaching too, neither consistent with Truth nor good Manners.

But not only the University Government, was thus oblig'd to take notice of their too forward temper, in leaning to their own Understandings, or rather prejudic'd Minds; but they soon gave that above a Specimen of the same disposition, first from Christs, and then from Queens Colledge; which two abounded more with those brisk sort of Spirits than any other Societies. That of Christs stood thus, one Dr. Widdrington was Fellow of that Colledge, a Learned Man, and known to have been all along well affected to the Church and Crown; but his Brother Sir Thomas, a common Lawyer, having married Fairfax's Sister, went into the Usurpation, under all Dispensations,

tations, and was most an end one of the Commissioners to whom they intrusted their Seal ; by him the Doctor was persuaded to take the *Engagement*, and continue in the Celledge, which he much benefited by the many *Pupils* he had, several of Genteel and Honourable *Families* ; but continued himself, and kept all them, as much as he could, from running those *Novel Courses* most of the other *Fellows* took ; and *Master* to be sure countenanc'd. Upon this account, the Doctor, as was said of the Great *Mr. Joseph Mead* a little before, seem'd to be the *Odd Fellow*, and was much malign'd by them, and that they might be all one piece, perswaded the *Master* to joyn with them, and expell him, which was accordingly done, in a very abrupt manner, and upon very slight, trivial Allegations, yet most of them false too ; hereupon the Doctor *Petition'd the King*, who deputed the *Lord Chancellor* and several other *Privy Councillors*, to hear the Matter, which was accordingly done, and the Doctor restor'd, not without some severe Reflections upon his Adversaries, for so rash, unjustifiable an Act ; which made them very *Crest-fall'n* for the present, and more cautious for the future.

Yet this could not caution their *Brethren of Queens*, from running into a greater *Pramunire*, which happen'd upon this occasion ; *Dr. Martin* the old *Master* being Dead, that set of *Fellows* fix'd upon one of their own Body, an eminent Person now Living, whom they had been brought up with or under, to succeed him ; the Government in the mean while resolv'd upon *Dr. Sparrow*, (who had been Fellow there of old) as a more proper Person for such a Trust ; and accordingly a *Mandamus* was sent down ; which the others understanding, at the time of *Election*, one of their Party (a Man of Parts, and ever good at *Intrigue*, making afterwards several considerable advances in the Church) came to the Senior Fellow, with whom, the *Mandamus* was Lodg'd, and told him how odious it would be for *Doctor Sparrow* to come in that way, but if he would superseed it, they would all joyn in Voting for him ; the good Old Gentleman being never us'd to such tricks, comply'd with the proposal, till comming to the *Scrutiny*, it appear'd they all went the other way ; he thereupon produc'd his *Mandamus* and declar'd *Doctor Sparrow Master*, who was admitted accordingly, for some time the Opposites made a Bustle, and were positive for their *Election*, but when the consequence of the matter was duely weigh'd at Court,

Court, and their Carriage truly represented ; they were all *Suspended or depriv'd*, I cannot remember which, to be sure they left the *Colledge*, scarce any returning thither again.

This was so severe a *Shock* as it oblig'd all the rest of them to Act with more caution, tho in discourse no less warm then before, pretending indeed a great Zeal for the *Church*, yet in their Judgments it would be much more firmly Establish'd, if some little things were abated ; and the most *Moderate* of the *Several Factions* brought in. And this about two years after the *Restoration* became the common discourse at *London* among several Divines there ; and much propogated among their Lay Admirers ; for the *Somerset-house-Cabal*, as mention'd before, having prevail'd upon the *King* to Attempt a *Toleration*, as soon as that Session was ended, which pass'd the *Act of Uniformity* ; several who had comply'd with, but been no way's Active under any of the *Usurp'd Powers*, and thereupon came as Passively into the *Church* ; and others of the same from the University (for they had communicated Notions by this time, and doubtless fram'd their design) finding how the *Court's pulse* beat, thought it might be no less acceptable there, than for themselves to plead for a greater *Latitude* ; that Free Exercise of their *Gifts and Parts* (for some call'd them one way, some another) with some other unrestrain'd Performances, as the *Licentiousness* of the times had habituated them unto ; and the prejudices of their Education enamour'd them with. The exact method in which the Old *Puritans* proceeded, who pretended at first to no more than small inconsiderate Abate-ments, the three *Innocent Ceremony's* was the utmost of their demands ; yet how high they rais'd them by degrees, and positively persisted in them hath been already shown.

The *Citizens* in the mean while, who could no longer abett any of the old *Factions* by reason of the Intollerable mischeifs they had occasion'd, thought they might take in at this middle way with a great deal of Reputation ; and accordingly cry'd them up for *Masters of great reason*, that they discours'd nothing else in the *Pulpit*, being altogether indifferant as to the *External's of Religion*, or any *Publick Church concern's*. This pretty *Salvo* made the most considerable of the *Common-wealth party*, desert the *Fanaticks*, and take up here ; and gave the first rise to them, which some years after were term'd *Whigg's*, for a *Whigg* is no other than a *Lay Latitudi- narian*.

Having thus secur'd themselves of the City, they could not fail of a reception at Court, where they had too many of the like Disposition to recommend them, and accordingly when ever any of them Preach'd one Lord or other was prepared to move the King, it might come forth in Print *By his Majesties Special command*: from whence it grew so much in Fashion with all other conceited *Pulpiteers*, which has made the Poor Press Labour under such a *Superfestation of Preachments and Pamphlets* as too many read little else; and are never the better principled for it. *Sir Edwin Sands* judiciously observ'd how carefully the *Romanists* reform'd all Exorbitances of that kind.

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And a late great Person amongst us sadly reflects, how the number of idle, impertinent, and Seditious Pamphlets took up so much time, that Books of Learning, Weight, and Importance found little Countenance, and few Men at leisure to peruse them, which he styles the Epidemical disease of the Nation, a reproach to the Government, and likely by degrees to supplant all true Knowledge, and sound Principles. How dismally this is improv'd by the Freedom of the Press since that great Person writ, is still most deplorable. But this is a Digression, I shall return with relating this Passage, Once, when the first Metropolitan of the late Reign preach'd before the King, he had a certain Peer so much his friend, as from recommending his Sermon, to insinuate how deserving he was of a *Bishoprick*, King Charles, according to his pleasant way reply'd, my Lord 'tis a question whether he may be so well trusted in *Parliament*, as *Pulpit*.

P. 59.

Yet did not his Sermons pass without some just Reflections: I knew a Gentleman, a Judicious Attender upon Court Sermons, especially in Lent, told me at the end of one, that he never heard this Person preach there without some little by Reflection upon one or other of our Church constitutions. And his *Torkshire Feast Sermon* is so express, as I fancy should any man at Geneva or any other of those Foreign Churches declare himself so freely against what is there Establish'd, he would be never suffered to Preach more. And 'tis somewhat strange that his Sermon wherein he declares the No Eternity of Hell Torments, should be printed among the rest of his Works, since to my knowledge it was much discours'd of when preach'd; and the Gentleman who hath made Reflections upon his *Funeral Sermon*, hath observ'd he covertly undermines the Doctrine of Christs satisfaction there, as well as expressly declares

clare that the *Torments of Hell* are so *Terribly severe*, that we can hardly tell how to *Reconcile* them with the *Justice and goodness of God*, with too much more to the same purpose. The same Gentleman charges him with a gross peice of *Hobbisme* in another before the *King at Whitehall*, which not only Dr. Gunning the good and Learned *Bishop of Ely* complain'd of to the *House of Lord's*, but his good friend Dr. P——ck writ severely to another about it, and was earnest to have him *Reprov'd* upon that account. The manner too of his Administering the *Sacrament at Lincolns-Inn Chappel* is justly reflected upon as very odd, that he should first go to those in the *Pew's*, some of which 'tis presum'd might receive it sitting, and at last to such as *Kneel'd at the Rails* delivering the consecrated Elements in such a *Careless Sidling* manner, as if he design'd to discourage their coming there. Now this was a *Latitude* so grossly stretch, as to rend all the *Essentials of Christian Doctrine and Religious Worship*; not dispensing with a Ceremony, but prophaning a Sacrament, which when we had a Church countenanc'd as it ought, would have met with no other advance than in the *Sinagogue of Satan*, and therefore must be a direct tendency down the *Broadway*; whereas now *Ille crucem Hic Diadema*, we Mitre those we should Suspend. But the thred of his life being cut off soon after his Ascent to the See of *Canterbury*, little guess can be made how he would have behav'd himself in that High post; tho' as little doubt but he would have carryed on all things in a *Comprehension Latitude*, having from the first been chief Abettor thereof, and after *Bishop Wilkins's* death, Head of the whole party: whereof he gave too large a Specimen, in advising the *Episcopal Clergy of Scotland* to go home and submit to their *Presbitery*; which my Author too truly terms a peice of *Treason* to the Order he was advanc'd into; and perhaps that was one main part of the design, to have the *Orders Co-ordinate*; *Presbitery* absolutely Establish'd in *Scotland*, and something very Like it in *England*, with the *Episcopal Revenue*. Others think that finding not only so strong a *Body* of the *Clergy* opposing their design, every day more than other, abetted by the *Commons*, and *Lords* too, (till the several advances in that Reign; *Spiritual*, and *Temporal*, *English*, and *Dutch* turn'd the Scales,) he car'd not to jogg that even sedate Temper, whereof he was a very happy Master, by driving a Nail he found would not go; But like a Brother

Patriarch many years since at *Rome*, having caught the Fish, the *Nett* was not now so much to be regarded.

Thus have I run from one digression to another, incidentally mentioning this *Lucky mans* Recommendation to *King Charles*, thought it proper to pursue his good fortune to its utmost height by the favour of *King William*: for that being stricken down from thence by a sudden death, he did not live to Act his part with the rest of his party: which (to return to *King Charles's Court* from whence I degress'd) carryed all before them, the most considerable preferments running into their Channel, and whoever did not *Swim*, as that *Stream* drove, was look'd upon to be hot and indiscreet, very defective in their two grand Qualifications, *Prudence and Moderation*, which were then as much in *Vogue* as now; Tho the one was all *Serpent*; and the other made an *Inlet* to *Factions Licentiousness*. 'Twas thought likewise these Gentlemen had no little kindness done them underhand by the *Romish Party*, who for the same reason they allow'd very liberal *Pensions* to the most considerable of the *Seperation Cheifs*, *John Owen*, &c. might according to their usual *Politicks*, take care to have such preferr'd in the *Church* as would least regard it; upon which account I knew a person about Court would frequently say, the purchase of a *Dignity* was to do nothing.

Being thus advanc'd in Number and Interest, and *Sir Orlando Bridgman* advanc'd to the *Seal*, a great *Common-Lawyer*, and as such generally are one of, great *Moderation*, that is no ways Zealous in *Church Affairs*, thought to render himself popular as I have already hinted, by reducing their *Latitude Speculations* into practice, find an expedient to *Comprehend* some of the most considerable *Dissenters* in the *Church*; and had as an Assistant therein *Dr. Wilkins*, who being *Granchild* to, and having the greatest part of his Education under old *Mr. Dod*; thought to find something of that good Mans Temper in the rest of the *Dissenters*; but the event prov'd otherwise, for few of the party appear'd, and they who did, engaging only for themselves, and every meeting making fresh demands, the *Lord Keeper* and others engag'd in it, grew weary, and despair'd of fixing them even to their own *Concessions*, for whatever flourishes *Mr. Baxter* and his *Abridger* may make, this is the true state of the Case, as *Sir John Baber* (whom they call

call Sir John Barber,) inform'd me, who was chiefly concern'd in bringing on the debate, and took much pains therein, but finding nothing but *Turgiversations and Cavils*, without any prospect of a reasonable compliance in any one thing, he gave them over for a Company of *Whiffing Fellows*, as his term was, and could never believe since there was any thing of Conscience in all their pretences which he really thought before. Dr. Burron the *Keepers Chaplain*, who had *Latitude* enough, and was very fond of, and forward at first in the affair, but at last gave a like account of their endeavours with Sir John Barber, and despair'd as much, of ever bringing them to reason. What Dr. Wilkins said or thought, I have not heard, however it turn'd well to his account, being soon after rais'd to the *Episcopal Dignity*; A now *Learned Prelate*, who preach'd his *Funeral Sermon*, seems to Apologise for his appearing in the *Comprehension* project, as resulting partly from his *Education under his Grandfather*; but more especially from his *goodness of Nature*, by reason whereof he might possibly overdo, &c. yet being since rais'd to the same order, hath appear'd as forward as any, for throwing down the walls of our Church, to let in this *Trojan Horse* (*'tis the Right Reverend, and VVorthy Bishop Lany's Comparison*) full fraught with those *Enemys*, which could do us no hurt whilst kept out; and however in that juncture declared against, the project was first contrived in a knot of acquaintance which he was very intimate with, and from them deliver'd down Traditionwise to their friends and admirers. About this time I presume it must be, for the 2d. Edition was in 1671. that a certain *Bedfordshire Divine*, who had quited his Living upon the *Act of Uniformity*; thought fit to come into the Church, upon those *Comprehensive* promises which were then the cheif subject of discourse, and accordingly address himself to the party that way disposed, who caressed him very much, and not only did what lay in their power towards his advancement, but recommended him to such as could do more, so that when others went down, he got up into the *Heirarchy*; now that he might not be thought ingrateful to their first kindnesses, he writ in three *Dialogues*, *A Defence of certain Moderate Divines*, abusively call'd *Latitudinarians*, giving an account 1. of their *Preaching*; 2. of their *Opinions*, and *Principles*; 3. of their *Judgment in Matters of Discipline*. The two former I shall take

take no Notice of, as relating, more especially, their opposition to the *Dissenters*, that they might not be thought of them, tho' originally from them. Nor much to the Third, but that having stated the Case of *Episcopacy and Church Government*, tenderly enough, and tho' indulgent to *Tender Consciences*, will not allow those to be such as *confront Authority*, and *refuse to yeild Obedience in those things against the Lawfulness of which there can be no pretence, which carryeth any shew of Reason*: he concludes, how extremely desirable it is (if our Governours shall see it good) that the Terms of *Communion with the Church of England*, and likewise of *Exercising the Ministerial Function therein*, may be so enlarg'd, as to take in all that are of any Reason, Sobriety, and Moderation; which Terms carry in them so great a Latitude, as there is not a *Fanatick* in the Kingdom but will pretend to them all, yet admit none to judge but themselves; nor an *Heretick* in the Kingdom, but think his reason will bear him out against whatever *Articles of Faith* he opposes; and for *Sobriety of Life*, they were generally eminent therein, the better to prevail upon their Proselytes; yet would not that do their business without *Moderation* in their abusive Sence, that is such remissness in the Church Governours, as to let them go on without *Reproof or Censure*; and all *Schismatics* will come under the same Latitude, ay, and *Papists* too, till they can get the Church down, and set up themselves, and then for an *Inquisition*, as the others for a *Covenant*, which the Nation hath once sadly groan'd under, yet is still so strangely infatuated, as to take no true Measures, for preventing either in the future. Now were I to give a general Character of such as ought to be comprehended in our Church; true Religion should be plac'd instead of Reason, (which 'tis very probable the Gentleman intended, tho' it had been better express'd) not only agreeable to the *Articles of our Creed*, but to those of our Church too, which relate to *Doctrinals*, without the least Alloy either from *Geneva or Racovia*. 2dly. Holiness of Life, whereof *Sobriety* is no more than one single branch, but as falsely as maliciously insisted upon by a Company of *Pharisaical Christians* in a design'd Reflection upon all such as will abhor their Hypocrisie, winking in the mean while at their *Pride of Heart* and *perverseness of Spirit*; which absolutely rules in those *Children of Disobedience*; for did they truly understand to moderate their own unruly Affections, and vain Prejudices,

Prejudices, instead of Cavalling they would Acquiesce in, and admire the great *Moderation* our Church hath observ'd in all her Constitutions.

But whilst the Dissenters could do nothing for themselves, and by disagreeing in their Demands, nay, the same Person demanding sometimes one thing, and sometimes another, discourag'd such in the Church as really design'd them a kindness, would they have attended to any thing of Reason, Sobriety and Moderation; their true Friends the *Papists*, did their business at one stroke, because they could not untie, cut the Knot assunder, prevail'd upon King Charles's unsteady Temper, without consulting the best *Parliament*, any King, till that time, ever had, (we have had several as good since, and as little hearkned to) to break the *Tripple Alliance*, enter into a *League with France*, shut up the *Exchequer*, and proclaim'd a *Free Toleration* to all *Dissenters* whatsoever, and *Papists* more especially, for tho' last named were first intended, and all the rest for their sakes; which none of them could be ignorant of; yet all agreed in an Address of Thanks to his Majesty; tho' the more cautious were not for such high applauding Terms as others design'd, lest the *Parliament* should fall upon them; in short they were such Enemies to *Forms* as not to accord in one upon this *Civil Concern*, and therefore introduc'd by my Lord *Arlington*, put his Majesty of with an *extempore Thanksgiving*. Neither was that the only Dispute among them, but another arose much more controverted, *viz.* Whether they should acquiesce in a *Toleration* alone, or have a *Comprehension* too; the *Presbiterians* were for the one, *Independants* for the other, and very jealous lest those *Old Dictators* having once got a *Legal Establishment*, should retaliate upon them the Insolencies of their *Exclusion* in 47. Mr. *Baxter* gives us their Arguments *pro* and *con*, like himself very trifling, yet strong enough to continue their distances, who are resolv'd never to come together unless to do mischief; which by joyning with the *Papists* as they did in the next *Kings* Reign, they had a foul prospect of, but were now happily prevented,

For the King having expended all his *Exchequer-Funds*, and saw the *French* got into the heart of the *Seven Provinces*; whilst their *Fleet* acted so at *Sea*, as if they designed to give the *Dutch* the same advantage over us there, as they had got over them at *Land*, began to think, as all unthinking Persons do,

do, when too late, how he should extricate himself, which was no other way to be done, but by a *Parliament*; who would be sure to reflect on those many unjustifiable courses had been taken. However they acted like *Gentlemen* and *Loyal Subjects*, with a great deal of tenderness to his *Majesty*, desiring only the remove of such *Ministers* as had given him that ill Advice, and a further security from *Popery* by the *Test Act*: Which gave them all a remove from those many *Places* and *Commands* they had thrust themselves into, even to the *Duke of York* himself, who had been the chief promoter of all these *New Councils*; and was observ'd scarce ever after to enjoy a quiet Hour, either *Duke* or *King*. The *King* was likewise engag'd to re-call the *Dissenters Tolerations*, which they were much vext at, but could not complain of, since it so palpably tended to the promoting of *Popery*, as they all knew, and that it was iadulg'd them soly upon their Account: how little in the mean while must they have of that *Religion* and *Conscience*, clamour'd so much about, and acted so much against.

But the *Papists*, tho' they lost their *Places*, lost nothing of their *Interest*; and finding the *Parliament* to act so steadily, (as tho' they would be sometimes angry, having indeed too just occasion, when things were so frequently carried against all Principles of *Law* and *Policy*) that neither *Church* nor *Crown* could be damnified, even when perswaded to make it their own Act. Yet, I say, the *Papists* manag'd matters so, as to procure a *Dissolution*, much to the *Kings* trouble, but more to their own destruction. For new *Parliaments* very much alter'd the Face of things, where the *Old Commonwealth* and *Fanatick Party*, getting the Ascendant, fell to their wonted work of *Root and Branch Reformation*, and to inflame their Zeal, a *Popish Plot* was discover'd, which certainly they ever had, and were then more vigorously carrying on than ever before; but as to particulars, whether many *Allegations* were not too ill grounded, and the *Evidences* as little *Creditable*, to take away so many Lives as suffer'd upon that Account, must be referr'd in *Diem longissimum*. To be sure the whole *Nation* was thereupon rais'd into so high a ferment, as to question even *Contradictions* and *Impossibilities*, was to be not only of the *Party*, but *Plot*. But this is Forreign to my Subject, otherwise than to take notice, that *Coleman*, the busiest *Stickler* amongst them, confess'd at his *Trial*, and after *Sentence*, That possibly

possibly he might be of Opinion, Popery might come in if Liberty of Conscience had been granted; which yet at this time the Dissenters were more earnest for than ever, without any deference to the Government or legal course therein, by way of Coalition, Comprehension, or any such like Proposals as they had formally made. The truth of it is, their Party in the House was so potent and clamorous, as they always are, that 'twas not doubted among them, the Church should receive their Terms without giving any; insomuch as when Dr. Stillingfleet Preaching before the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and all the Judges present, took an occasion to expostulate with the Dissenters, for the little regard they had to Unity and Concord, in so Critical a time as that was; and to shew the unreasonableness and danger thereof; the chief of their several Sects fell violently about his Ears, Dr. Owen, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Alsop, with two or three more, most of them not only in an Ungentile, but Unchristian Manner: to all of whom the Doctor replied, in his Unreasonableness of Separation, giving a full account how uneasy they had all along been, not only to the Government, but themselves; so naturally were they inclin'd to continual Brangles and Factionous Oppositions. But after the Doctor had taken all this great pains, there was a moderate Party then in our Church who prevail'd upon him at the end of his excellent Preface, to make a short Essay as to a Toleration, which yet the Dissenters at present will little thank him for, being clog'd with several Restrictions and Limitations, altogether requisite to prevent the mischiefs of an unlimited Licentiousness, which otherwise, he saith, would certainly bring confusion among us, and in the end Popery. I shall here name the first of his Restrictions, tho' done elsewhere, That none be permitted this Indulgence, who do not declare, that they hold all Communion with our Church unlawful; for it seems unreasonable to allow it to others, and will give countenance to endless and causeless Separations. And this is what all true Churchmen are earnest for, and the defect thereof will certainly produce that confusion the Doctor mentions, which all that are not willfully blind, must see every Day breaking in upon us.

But the Church is never struck at without a like design upon the Crown; which the King was made so thoroughly sensible of, in three successive Parliaments, one of which, finding their Dissolution drew nigh, pass'd a Vote, it should be highly Criminal, as far as a Vote could make it, to advance him Money

on any branch of his Revenue, tho' to buy Bread: this forc'd him to have recourse to his old Friends, countenance the Loyal Church Party, both Clergy and Lay, to preserve himself; by whose means he weather'd that Storm, resolving never after (tho' none of the firmest therein) to trust Whig or Dissenter, whatever promises or protestations they should make. This made them Plot too, and that in a very desperate manner, which by a signal Providence being discover'd, and much better Evidenc'd than that of the Papists, about a like number of them suffer'd. And here I cannot but take notice of Mr. Baxter's Legerdemain Evasions, who complains mightily of his own and Brethren being prosecuted, but for fear we should expect the reason of the Kings unusual Severity, he concludes the Narrative of his Life, which relates thereunto, with these Equivocal Words; As to the present State of England, the Plots, the Execution of Men high and low, the Public Councils and Designs, &c. the Reader must expect none of this sort of History from me. And his Abridger tells us, this year 83. A new Plot was tramp'd up, which cost the Brave Lord Russel, Col. Sidney, &c. their Lives: he might have told us likewise their Fellow Conspirators were Evidence against them, and said something of the Rye-Plot if he had pleas'd, but that was too hot to be touch'd, and too clear to be evaded. Thus the King having escap'd, more by Divine Favour, and his Loyal Subjects care, than his own due regard, the many new Attempts of his old Enemies, even to that of a Violent Death, was as suddenly taken away by a Natural.

How unhappily his Successor manag'd Affairs, what advantages he gave to all the Enemies of Church and Crown totally to subvert them, every ones Eyes beheld but his own. Tho' upon his first ascent to the Throne, he propounded such a Regular Scheme of Government, so agreeable to Law, and the true Interest of the Kingdom, as had he not prostituted his promise, all Men of Sence and peaceable Dispositions, would have indulg'd the prejudices of his persuasion. And this I have observ'd to be generally practis'd at the beginning of most Reigns, Men of Sence and steady Principles, immoveably fix'd to the Ancient Establishments of their Fore-fathers; are first address'd to, and have greatest assurances given them, but what through the Insinuations of factious Dispositions, the base suggestions of Sycophants and Parasites; with the self interested designs of such as get into Publick Places without Pub-

Tick Spirits, those first and best resolves are seldom persever'd in. The like gracious assurances he gave to his *Parliament*, when assembled, which had a large plurality of sensible well principled *Gentlemen*, who prudently consider'd the greatest mischiefs and confusions ever befell this *Kingdom*, or indeed any other, was by altering the *Succession*, which therefore, if possible, they intended to avoid; especially, for that during their Session, the *Duke of Monmouth* Dub'd himself *King*, a Person they knew to have no *Title*, (being not so much as the late *Kings Natural Son*, if strictly enquir'd into) no *Party*, and a Party which design'd nothing but the extremity of our old Distractions, and 'twas a strange fatality to *King James*, to see what a Bustle that Man made with a *Rabble* rather than *Army of Rebels*, consisting altogether of *Commonwealthsmen* and *Fanatick-Preachers*, and upon the least gleam of success, would have had the whole Body run into him; should, when his turn was serv'd against them, depend upon their assistance, to put a force upon such as had so faithfully serv'd him. For the *Parliament* having been so complaisant as to Enact the *Duke of Monmouth* a *Rebell*, so that when taken, all that remain'd was to cut off his Head; and voted Money to pay off the *Army* rais'd against him, insisting only that such *Papists* which had serv'd therein contrary to the *Test Act*, when paid, should be no longer continued in Service, his Majesty was pleas'd to take this so reasonable, so legal a Demand, very ill, and in a *Royal Pet* Dissolve them.

Hence forward the *Vizard* began to be taken off, the *Kings Dispensing Power* was the subject of every ones Discourse, such *Judges* as would not admit thereof, turn'd out; and others with very little *Law*, but great *Compliance* taken in, and every Body in Place *Closetted* upon that Account. A *Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs* was also establish'd, and A *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience* issued forth, and with order some time after to be read in all *Churches* and *Chappels*, which the *Bishops* *Petitioning* against, were sent to the *Tower*. All which 'tis requisite to make a general mention of, in order to my particular Enquiry how the *Dissenters* behav'd themselves in this *Critical juncture*: For tho' they will stretch every little Advantage indulg'd them, to the extremity of *Licentiousness*, no less destructive to themselves than the *Church*, yet when upbraided with the same upon their design *mis-carrying*, they will either boldly deny or evade it, with as much *Art* and

Vindicia Libertatis Evangelii. Fallacy as any Jesuit whatsoever. I could give several instances how equivocally they argued against such as upbraided their being *Proprietors* to introduce *Papery*, by complying with King *Charles's Declaration*, 72. one cry'd, They were not concern'd with the secret design might be, so long as the thing was good, and why, saith he, do you insinuate Jealousies? have not we Publick, and the Papists only Private Allowances? In fine, we are thankful for the Honour done us to be Publick in our Meetings, they might have had them in Private by the Law, with Five of any other Families, but that would have been too thin an Auditory for their Noisy Gifts. And another had so peaceable a Design, for that was the Title of his Book, as to declare, the Papists in our account is but one sort of Recusants, and the conscientious and peaceable amongst them, must be held in the same predicament with those amongst our selves, that likewise refuse to come to Common-Prayer: with several others as positive in the point. So that however the old Stagers, which from the beginning had been engag'd in the Rebellion as well as the Schisme, left their young forward Fops to scribble in defence of so foul a Fact, yet they took the liberty, and were equally forward in promoting the mischiefs.

And in the same manner they proceeded upon the like Declaration from King James, whatever Apologies the Abridger has thought fit to make on their behalf. For tho' Mr. Baxter, and some of his Brethren, being the old Stagers just now mention'd, were so wary as not to Address, yet he owns the rest Over-did it therein, and 'tis a mean excuse to say the High Church Party had little reason to reflect on them, who return'd thanks for Dissolving one of the best Parliaments; whereof a Dissenter can be no competent Judge, for that which is best in their Sence, must have a plurality of Whigs and Fanaticks, and consequently can be good for nothing but ill designs. And I cannot but take notice of his great caution in this matter, finding a double Evasion in one Sentence, when he tells us, Neither can any Number of any Consideration be charg'd with hazarding the Publick Safety by falling in with the measures of the Court, where first there is not any Number, or if a Number of no Consideration, whereas they were so positive, or rather headstrong, that none of their own Party, or any else in England, were able to restrain them, insomuch as he himself, the Abridger, tells us from their good Friend the Bishop of Sarum, That among other Messages sent over to the Prince of Orange,

one was; that he would use all his Interest among the Dissenters, to hinder them from running in to the Declaration, and from the Design which was then promoted, of animating them against the Church, of this, saith the Bishop, I must be allowed to speak confidently; because it passed thorough my own hands, and I drew the Directions that were given to an eminent Person, who was employ'd in it; and this Person I presume was Monsieur Dickvelt, who as the Abridger tells us, gave great assurance to the Nonconformists, that they should find great respects from the Prince of Orange when occasion offer'd, and that they might be satisfied he was no Enemy to rigour and severity in Religious Matters, but a great Friend to Liberty of Conscience. Yet for all this assurance they continued between Hawk and Buzzard till the Prince was Landed, and King James's Army began to desert him, few of the Somersetshire Fanaticks, where they much abounded, going in to the former, as remembering how lately they smarted most severely upon that Account. What he says likewise of the Regulators is another right down Evasion, for, however they were Persons of mean Fortunes and Abilities, yet those of best reputation among the Dissenters caressed them in most Corporations where they came, and had there been an Election, the whole Body of them would have stickled as earnestly for such as would have voted down the Test and Penal Laws, as at the Election the other Day, for such as should oppose the Bill against Occasional Conformity.

'Tis therefore the height of Fanatick Confidence in the Abridger to alledge, that though they had a fair opportunity for Revenge in King James's time, yet could they not think the thing desirable; they went as far as opportunity serv'd, and had the design gone forward, would have furnish'd the Papists with Faggots, and kindled the Fire too if that course had been resolv'd upon the second time, which I believe they were, I will not say Wiser, but Cunniger than to have taken, the Presbyterians had shown them a no less effectual way, to Sequester, and thereby Starve them, which to present view is not so Cruel indeed, yet such a lingering Death has more in it of Torment. Of all things therefore God deliver me from depending upon their Charity, how much did they show to the good King Charles I, when in their power, and as he said, What can the Subject expect, when their Prince met with such Treatment. He mentions likewise the Commissioners appointed by King James, to enquire what Money or Goods had been re-

P. 627.

P. 628.

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vied upon the Dissenters, and not paid into the Exchequer; which gave the Dissenters a fair opportunity of being reveng'd on many of their bitterest Enemies, which could be only Informers and Under-Sheriffs, and though he saith they generously pass'd all by, I knew some Under-Sheriffs they retaliated upon in their own kind; yet if not, why should any Leading Person of the Church of England, Clergy and Lay, make promises and assurances that no such Methods should be us'd, but great Temper and Moderation for the future; the Fellows had Law for what they did, and could only be question'd for putting into their Private Pockets, what should have been paid into the Publick Exchequer, the King might dispose of it afterwards to whom he pleas'd. What likewise the Marquess of Halifax writ, was only to keep them from running into the Court measures, but that they should wait to see the effects of his Declaration, was to no purpose, since neither he nor the Church Party had any thing to do in the management of Affairs, all was carried on by the Papists and Dissenters; so that their former Haughtiness, which he terms the Marquess's Word, was extinguish'd already; and several Bishops being in the Tower, so long as the Dissenters continued in Power, would have continued them there, and sent their Brethren to bear them Company. But then too, the Marquess concern'd himself, doubtless, in this Affair no otherwise than as it related to the State, for tho' he was a Person of excellent Parts, of a brisk Fancy and searching Judgment, yet in Religious concerns, his Principles and Practices were of too great a Latitude, to regard pretences of Conscience, any farther than the disturbances they gave to a settled Government, which to prevent further mischiefs, when numerous, he must think fit to have Tolerated; and tho' not Bapists, because they will not retaliate, yet Atheists and Deists must by no means be excluded; to be sure at present they seem to be the chief Conductors march at the Front of the whole Herd. That Observation which the wise Son of Sirac makes, carries not more of Judgment than Religion in it, *He that hath small Understanding, and feareth God, is better than he that hath much Wisdom, and transgresseth the Law of the most High.* A wicked Instrument prophanes a good Cause, brings a Curse instead of a Blessing. But what then will become of such as have small Understandings, and no fear of God to help them, that doubtless renders the Case most desperate, nothing but the continued Misery of good Men, can divert the Evils attending there upon.

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But without taking notice of what sentiments such Persons had, as acted solely upon Reason of State, without regard to Religion, our Abridger insists much upon what the Bishops proposed in their Petition and Advice, which the King after their Discharge oblig'd them, and the rest of their Brethren, to give in behalf of the Dissenters, and from thence indeed are his best Measures to be taken. Now the Petition stands thus, telling the King for what reasons they were unwilling to recommend reading his Declaration, first, Negatively, it did not proceed from want of any Duty and Obedience to his Majesty, nor from any want of due Tenderness to the Dissenters, in relation to whom they were willing to come to such a Temper as should be thought fit, when that Matter should be considered, and settled in Parliament and Convocation. And the Advice, Desiring that a Parliament might be call'd, the Church of England secur'd according to the Act of Uniformity, and in the next place Provision made for a due Liberty of Conscience. This is all they promis'd, or rather propos'd, a Toleration, which is granted, and perhaps in a larger extent than they intended; the old ones especially, who doubtless would have had it attended with most, if not all, or more of such Restrictions, as are mentioned in Dr. Scillingfleet's Essay. Neither yet could this be done as they are a Body of themselves, but Members of the other two, which they refer'd to, the Parliament and Convocation. The former granting a Toleration, which they have been sensible since, should have had some Restrictions, neither will the Nation ever be quiet till 'tis so.

The Comprehension Bill did not find so easy a passage, for tho' the Lords pass'd it, the Commons thought it more a Church concern, and thereupon desin'd his Majesty to summon a Convocation and lay the Matter before them, which was accordingly done, and to facilitate their proceedings, a Commission was issued out to several Bishops and other Divines, to prepare such matters as were most proper for their Debates. The Ecclesiastical Commission in King James's time began so roughly, and threatned so terribly, as the very Name became formidable; whereupon a new made Prolate, who came over with King William, and was indeed his Adjutant General in Ecclesiasticks, writ a Discourse in defence of it, which others replied unto, however they sate, tho' several nominated did not appear, and they who did, could not agree how far the stretch should reach, some being earnest for stretching it so far.

far as to give up *Episcopal Ordination*, which had been in plain Terms to give up *Christianity its self*, so be sure there was some such odious thing among them, that they broke up in silence, and would never let us know any thing of their Resolves, how far they went, and what they stop'd at. The *Abridger* tells us he hath a Copy of the *undry Alterations* they drew up, but I presume 'tis rather what their *Friends* propos'd, than what was ever fully Agreed upon, because he mentions the allowance in the point of *Ordination by Presbyters*. Neither had the *Convocation* any better success, which stumbled at the very Threshold, in the choice of their *Prolocutor*, *Dr. Fane* being preferr'd before *Dr. Tillotson*, which was an Evidence, not that the *Christ Church Interest* only, but that of the *True Church* throughout the whole Kingdom, was too strong for the *Moderate Party*; and God be praised they were so; or else by this time we might have had no Church. The truth of it is, what was discours'd of the Commission, had alarm'd them very much, and the other Person nominated for *Prolocutor* they knew would have left never a Stone unturn'd to carry on the Project; however, one further attempt was made, for all concluded it was by their inducement *King William* sent the *Earl of Nottingham* with a Message to the *Convocation*, expecting the things which he propos'd should be calmly and impartially consider'd; where tho' the *Protestant Religion* was mentioned only in general, yet 'twas fear'd, that *Co-allition* some leading *Dissenters* much talk'd of with the *Foreign Churches* might be design'd; and this made the *Lower House* very cautious, how their *Address of Thanks to his Majesty* should be worded, the *Church of England* being principally concern'd, they thought it ought to come in the first place, and the others follow in a general acknowledgement of his great regard towards them; this caused a long Debate between the *Bishop of Sarum* and *Dr. Fane*, but I think was compromised in the end; tho' the *Lower House* had rather presented an *Address* by themselves. But having thus discovered themselves not to be wrought upon to betray the *Church*, the *Convocation* became a *Cypher*, met only to Adjourn, and was in a fair tendency to be altogether discontinued, had not some complaints thereof been made in Print; to avoid which *Odium and Shame*, such as obstructed, thought fit to promote their *Re-assembling*, which accordingly hath regularly met every new *Parliament*, but so many preliminary *Obstructions* throw'd in their way, as

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no Business hath been hitherto fall'n upon, nor ever will, till the great promoters of *Moderation*, who recommend generally the *Deaths*, and make all the *Arch-Deacons*, wherein much care is taken, with such as they can gain of the *Country Clerks*, are assur'd of a *Plurality* in the *Lower-House*, and *Hey then up go We*. Tho' I cannot despair, but it looking so like the *Wisdom of this World*, that great good God who hath all along, even to a *Miracle*, preserv'd our *Church*, should expose their *vain thoughts*, and have them taken in their own craftiness.

But leaving the issue thereof to the same unsearchable *Wisdom*, I must here further take notice how unreasonable the *Dissenters* are in their *Demands*, and how ingrateful, if not gratified in every thing demanded: The *Liberty of their Consciences* was so precious a *Soul saving favour*, as one would think being once granted nothing more could have been of any value; whereas because a *Comprehension* did not pass too, they have been ever since complaining, and railing as if the other were nothing worth, and so they will be for ever, till they can get the whole power into their Hands, *Temporal and Spiritual*. Whereupon I design to turn the *Tables* and propound these following *Queries*.

Quære 1. Whether ever they deserv'd any such kindness from the Church, or could in reason expect it? Where I shall not take notice of what was long since cancell'd by an Act of Indemnity, after the twenty Years Confusion wherein they had overwhelm'd the Nation; but come directly to their Department during the late Reign of King James, whether they did appear with that Vigour and Zeal against Popery, and the several other Invasions upon the Peoples just Rights, as might be expected from Persons which had made such a Noise and Figure in the World? for tho' they always valued themselves upon their Numbers, and the Preacher generally carried the Flag, as Admiral of the whole Fleet; yet how did they in that juncture behave themselves like Cowards, or something else I shall not name? Who was there amongst 'em that gave one Broad-side? Or discharg'd a single Gun? Is it not strange so considerable a Squadron, which had all along boasted it self the sole security of the Protestant Channel, and every Day threatned to block up Tiber, should withdraw, (ay, and some of them strike Sail) so soon as the Enemy came in sight? That neither Richard nor Baxter should appear above Deck, or put in one single Fireship amongst them. Which had been his chief Ta-

lent all along against the Church of England. And did not all the rest of his Partisans act in the same manner? Who to show themselves wholly guided by that Spirit of Contradiction we always charge them with, were not more Refractory in complying with our Legal Constitutions, in State as well as Church; then forward to run into that most Arbitrary and destructive Imposition of a Dispensing power. 'Tis therefore a mean Allegation in our Abridger, after his acknowledgement of the Church of Englands strong, brave, and prosperous opposition to Popery; to add, But they have oppos'd it by things wherein they agree with us, (which yet is absolutely false) their difference from us is no more fence against Popery, than an Inclosure of Seawater against a Flame of Fire. Whereas if so, why did they not joyn with the Church in this Critical Juncture, at least wise remain wholly Passive, and not joyn with them, which they actually did, in so reproachful a manner, as the like advantage against us would never be forgotten, having all along charg'd and once ruin'd the Church of England as Popish, and now joyn with the Papists to destroy it a second time, and this not only in their Persons but whole Party. For was it not by their contrivance at least, not to say Instigation (doubtless their sincere endeavour might have obstructed it very much) that their several Lay charges so readily likewise clos'd with the Dispensing power, so frankly parted with their Guineas to Brent, Penn, and others, that they might get into the Magistracy, and revenge the Popes Quarrel, as well as their own Piques, upon every honest Church of England Man? so that altho' it were great injustice to charge them all with the Impertinences which appear'd in many Addresses, (as their great Friend and Advocate Apologizes for them) yet they were so many, and from so many several parts of the Kingdom, that I know not why the Dissenters should deserve so just a Title to our Friendship, as we must resolve to set the whole World against us, if we ever forget it. Surely it must be spoke by contraries, when he tells of the Dissenters Friendship to the Church of England, especially after so great a Defection from all Principles of Humanity as well as Religion. However, to me it seems a great piece of Friendship and Forgiveness too, that upon the Revolution they so readily yielded to a Toleration, which as I observ'd before, was the grand thing insisted upon, that of Comprehension being started by some few within and without the Church, to save their Reputation, in the many other Cavils they had objected, when

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Idem.

when their Mouths were stop'd as to the grand clamour for *Conscience*. But supposing a *Comprehension* condescended
Quære 2. How many will come in, and what Terms do they propound or desire? how those few which concern'd themselves with the *Lord Keeper Bridgman*, when this design was first set on Foot, behav'd themselves, hath been already shewn; and at the like *shuffling* rate they continued all that Reign. During *King James's*, 'twas nothing but *Toleration* and *Confusion*. And in the *Revolution* which follow'd thereupon, they found so much *Favour*, and so many *Abettors*, as doubtless they expected it should be forc'd upon them, to be sure they set not one true step towards it; whereas the aggrieved Party is wont to Petition for Redress, shew upon what just Reasons it is requested, and promise a thankful Acknowledgment, as well as Acquiescence upon obtaining it. Otherwise it cannot but be thought hard, that so great a Body as the Church of England are, both *Clergy* and *Lay*, should be divested of those *Ancient Primitive Rites* which they highly esteem, because the *Christian Church* hath in all Ages used them, (nay one, as the Learned *Grotius* observes, *Us'd by all Religions of the World in their most Sacred Solemnities*.) But then suppose we should grant these *indifferent things*, as they term them, and speak so slightly of, which such as have any reverence for *Antiquity*, would have more Modesty than to be guilty of; what *Liturgy* will they have, any of ours, any of their own, or be left to their pretended Gifts, which none but *Fools* can be affected with? and is to bring a *Toleration* into their *Comprehension*. And then for conferring *Orders*, by whom, and in what manner? Whether shall the *Apostles Institution*, or *John Calvin's Innovation* have the preference? Ought not they to propound how far they will go, and what will satisfy them in all these concerns, which we could never get them to yet, nor ever shall: or if they did, would never stand to, a heap of Sand may be as soon twisted into a *Rope*, as they held to any thing instituted in our Church. Which is my

Quære 3. How will they behave themselves when come into the Church, or continue there any longer than they can find an opportunity of breaking loose? The *Puritan Party*, which so shamefully trampled upon *Crown* and *Mitre* in 41. were, very few excepted, in the *Body of the Church*, and competently prefer'd; where having prepared the People for the mischiefs they design'd, set them on to ruin all. And I have observ'd that such

of that *Moderate Party* as were taken into the Church from that healing time in the Year 60. to this very present, have caress'd and complemented their *Dissenting Friends*, and been ready to shew them any kindness in that state of *Opposition* wherein they persisted, but never could find they brought or endeavoured to bring any one single Person into the Church; and such as had come in with themselves, and conform'd at the same *Laodicean Rate*, were their chiefest *Favourites*, and most countenanc'd. Neither were the circumstances they liv'd in, the regard of their *Cathedrals or Palaces*, or *Acts of Publick or Private Beneficence*; any ways answerable to the care they took of their *Revenue*; or Example set them by their *Brethren*, who had always been true to the Church, and many of them suffered so severely for it. But what is more considerable, these *Moderate Fathers* could not but indulge the like freedom to those their inferiour *Friends and Brethren*, in their partial and slovenly running over the *Publick Liturgy*, whilst the pretended *Gifts* of their own *Prayers* with the *Whine and Cant* of them and their *Sermons*, serve only to continue the People in their old Rebel Infatuations, not more to their own advantage, than the prejudice of all true Religion, and obstruction of whatever tends to *Decency and Order in Gods Publick Worship*. So that it may be thought rather a *Blessing* from Heaven than otherwise, that so few did come in, since those few did so little good, not to say worse. Their *Brethren* in Scotland, the cunning *Covenanters*, were so practic'd in mischief as to foresee the advantage hereof, and provide accordingly; as the former *Bishop of Winton*, who fail'd not in every circumstance of a truly *Episcopal Spirit*; the Reverend and Pious *Morly*, inform'd his *Clergy* at a *Triennial Visitation*. The *Covenanters*, saith he, in Scotland; when they found something of *Episcopal Government* was like to be establish'd among them, had frequent consults among themselves, as to their deportment therein, whether all comply or stand out, at length they resolv'd upon a middle way, some to do the one, some the other, such as complied being called *Holps*, as oblig'd to help, that is relieve the standers out; now, saith the *Bishop*, these *Holps* which staid in their charges, (as I am inform'd from my *Brethren* there) did ten times more mischief than the others, for they continued their *Covenant Clamours*, and brought all the freakish *Rabble* to neglect their own *Pastors*, and Dance after their *Pipes*. Thus far the *Bishop*, by way of reflection, I presume, upon those many partial *Conformists*, or *People Pleasers*,

fers, some of which his Diocess could not be without, every one having too many of such *Popular Spirits*, who vainly affect to have others admire them as much as they do themselves. And being got into *Scotland*, I will presume to take notice of another passage much to our purpose, The Lord Middleton was the first Commissioner sent into that Kingdom after the *Restoration*, (who with the *Marquess of Montross*, to their own and Nations Honour be it spoken, were the two only sincere Converts to the *Royal Cause*, I could ever find throughout the three Kingdoms, whoever can find me two such, in the other two, shall have my most thankful acknowledgements) this Lord had brought all Affairs there to a most Regular Settlement, both *Ecclesiastical and Civil*; only the *Covenanter* Bellowed and made a Noise, (as they would do could they get into Heaven) but he had been of them, rightly understood them, and dealt with them accordingly. The *Earl of Lauderdale*, who had too busie a Head to stand idle, headed that Party against him here at Court, where he advanc'd his Interest every Day, no Man understanding such Intreigues better, and in the end got Middleton recall'd, and himself substituted in that great Post. Where he began in that Popular way of Moderation and Indulgence to his old Creatures the *Covenanters*, depriv'd the *Archbishop of Glasgow*, (the worthiest *Burnet* without exception that Nation ever bred) because he would not run into his Measures: In short, not to give the particular History of that Transaction, for every Inch he gave them, they took Ells, and grew so extravagantly *Licentious*, as tho' he had the management of those Affairs, more or less nigh twenty Years, he could never throughly conjure down the *Evil Spirit* his Moderation suffer'd to rise up. For when *House Conventicles* were suppress'd, they held them in the Field, went Arm'd to maintain them, and fought a Battle to defend them; wherein tho' defeated, and some standing Forces rais'd to keep them under, they were notwithstanding on every occasion so Insolent and Seditious, as had the Government had nothing else to do, it was trouble enough to watch their Waters, and prevent their Mischiefs. At this rate they continued till the *Prince of Orange's Revolution*, which gave them their full scope, and a Convention of their own Party, tho' so much against the Sense of all the sober part of the Nation, who were likewise so many, as the said Prince when King, thought not fit to venture the new Election of a *Free Parliament*; and that their turbulent

lent Dispositions have met with so much countenance since, may be repented when too late.

4. I shall only *Quare* further, Whether the grand pretence of a Comprehension, as to the Dissenters, is not wholly bank'd. Since the old pretenders are all gone off, and the Education, Breeding and Temper of the young Fry, renders them altogether unqualified to come into our Church, if their Friends which promote it intend we shall have one. Those old ones were all of *University Education*, and generally Men of very good Learning, as already observ'd, and well read in *Divinity*; tho' so much prejudic'd with the *Geneva Systems and Disciplines*, as it corrupted that whole Mass, which with so much pains they had heap'd together, which made them so violent for *Presbiterary*, when occasion serv'd, as to turn all Top-sy Turvy. Now at the *Restoration*, several of our Churchmen were so good natur'd as to think, that seeing they had done so much mischief, and miscarried in their whole design, they might with some little remission of the Ceremonies, set a good Example by coming in, and reproach such as stood out: Others alledg'd they had discover'd so much of a violent perverse Spirit, as in common Prudence not to be trusted; for if in *Civil* concerns that old Grammar Example passes for an experienc'd Rule, *Nam est sibi fidendum ut qui toties sefelloris*, Whoever hath often deceiv'd me, 'tis madness to trust him further, why should the Church and Religion be expos'd to greater hazard? So that this debate was not unlike to that between *Barnabas* and *Paul*, (tho' no sharp contention, much less parting assunder) concerning *Mark*, *Acts* 15. 37. *St. Paul* would not comply with *Barnabas* to take him along with them, because he had departed from them before, and went not with them to the Work; and it hath been generally concluded that *St. Paul* had greater reason in what he did, besides that he was the *Superiour Apostle*, and act-ed by a more plentiful effusion of the *Divine Spirit*.

Now these Old Builders which began their Babel being gone off, and when that was confounded, not thought fit to be employ'd in the Rebuilding our *Sion*, tho' otherwise workmen able enough, if their sincerity had been answerable. Their Successors are such miserable Dambers; as they discredit the *Tremel* by handling it, having never serv'd any where but in private Nurseries, and to come from thence into the Church, balse Ripe, half Rotten, no otherwise grounded than in the Assemblies Catechism and Confession; and their Doctrine of Obedi-

once from their *Annotations* with their *Modren Fathers*, *Burget*, *Batten*, *Carroll*, *Manton*, and many hundreds more, who have perplexed all points of *Christian Truth*, with words void of *Sence*, and *Arguments* that carry nothing of *Reason* in them: All which is as much beneath our old *Emanuel Puritans*, and other *University Separatists*, as a *Copper Farthing* to a *Guinea*; 'tis all *Alloy*, without any thing of true *Mettal*, and would pass as ill in our *Churches*, as a *Surplice* in a *Conventicle*. So likewise those others were brought up to the *English Liturgy* in their *Colledges*, tho' so vain as to give a preference to their own conceits, which yet were compos'd *Forms* with *Sence* and *Order*, till the prevalency of *Enthusiasm* made many of them take that *Harebrained-way*: whereas these have so habituated themselves to *Pray Nonsense* by *Rote*, as 'twill be very hard to bring them to read our *Sence* with such *Decency* of behaviour and *Reverence* of *Expression*, as becomes all such who design not to offer the *Sacrifice* of *Fools*, never considering the *Evil* they do.

And this I am afraid is not sufficiently regarded by such as promote the design, what an influence a *Different Education* hath upon men's *Tempers*, nay very *Principles*, tho' *Common observation* cannot but take notice, that they of the *Church of England* persuasion are of a *Free*, *Generous*, *Open-hearted* disposition, with such a *Reverence* to *Majesty* as some think it comes too nigh an *Implicit Obedience*. Whilst they in separate *Communion*, especially the *Presbyterian*, discover to every Eye, a *stiff*, *supercilious* deportment, *pragmatical* and *Censorious* to extremity, and above all of *Superiors*; for tho' the last mentioned part of them the *Presbyterians* have always pretended a great love for *Kings*, yet, as one saith, their *Actions* speak it to no other end, than as *Boys* do their *Topp's*, to set them up and have the pleasure, or exercise of *Lashing* of them; wherein they have been found in all places most scandalously troublesome.

And as their different *Education* and *Tempers*, make it most proper to have them kept at distance; so the project of bringing them together speaks much of *levity* and *Secular* regard in the undertakers: for two *Churches* to bargain about *Faith* and *Worship*, to take or leave, add or diminish, be stiff or careless for the same things, as *humor* or *Interest* leads them, cannot but scandalise all such as are sincere in the truly *Catholick Faith*. And encourage the prophane *stander-by* to continue his in-

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difference as to every thing of Religious concern: And therefore the forementioned Bishop *Lany* pursuing his *Metaphor* from the *Trojan Horse*, Judiciously takes notice how much such choppings and changings are against all the Rules of Wisdom and Government, by which it was ever thought necessary; that the people should conform to the Laws of the Church, never that the Church should conform to the humors of the People; and therefore as he very well distinguishes, to such as be content to leave their Faults and Errors behind them; we ought to set our Gates wide open, and need not pull down our walls; but if they bring their Errors, Animositis, and divided Judgments along with them, to admit such, only secures them from punishment, but leaves them Free to all their other causes of Dissention, or rather Fortifies and Animates them to pursue their Differences with the greater Violence. God to be sure, receives none but upon Repentance and Amendment, and why his Church should do otherwise, I am yet to learn; if they will not be the same with us, let them heard by themselves, and not come among us, their Room is better than their Company. We may as soon expect that *Iron* and *Clay* should Cement together; as *Episcopacy* and *Presbitery* constitute one *National Church*; let them take their liberty, whilst we choose a confinement to our *Old Establishments*, not doubting but by a regular and devout perseverance in that way of *Divine Worship*, his *Service* (as in one of our *Collects* 'tis Excellently well express'd) will be found *Perfect Freedom*.

From these premis'd Queries it appears, that the Dissenters in their Toleration, as they had more kindness shown them from the Church Party than they deserved, so was it as much as they desir'd, and when first granted gave them such abundant satisfaction, as they would not hear of coming into the Church, upon any terms whatsoever, nay it was reported some of them obliged their several Congregations by the solemnity of an Oath, never to admit thereof, or comply therewith; and whatever Cavils the weak remains of *Presbitery* may continue upon that account, there is not one of a Thousand of their whole Separation Body care to hear of it, or will agree to it, at leastwise stand to their agreement. For the project of *Comprehension* was an after Game, plaid by our moderate Church Party, which about that time thought fit to distinguish themselves by such a Character, carried on indeed in the Dissenters name, Tho only *Dr. Bates*, *Mr. Baxter* and some few of those leading Beautifews were privy to it, and compli'd with

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it, rather to prejudice the *Church* than any other real satisfaction to themselves; However this design was so covertly manag'd: That had the *Comprehension* Bill pass'd into an *Act* as the other did, 'twould have altogether gone on the Dissenters account. But when the *House of Commons* demurr'd thereto, and desir'd *King William* to Summon a *Convocation* more particularly for adjusting that Affair, the Commission which proceeded it, and the great indignation at the *Lower House*, for the choice of their *Prolocutor*, and resolv'd opposition upon that account especially of every thing which proceeded from them, fully discover'd what a *Latitude* they reach'd at, and that whatever else concerns the *Church's* wellfare, should stand still, till they met with a more ready compliance in that new *Device*. So that now it was publickly own'd by the whole Party, and his Lordship of *Sarum*, who was the *Fac totum* then in all *Ecclesiastical* Matters, declared in that *Popular Harrangue* for Peace and Union. That the things propos'd were of themselves disirable, tho there should not be one Dissenter gain'd by them, and are such as will make all the parts of our Offices both more unexceptionable and more Edifying; and therefore upon all such occasions we ought not so much to consider, what we owe to those with whom we have to do; as what we owe to our selves, to the *Church*, and to the succeeding Generation; all which wanted not an *Emphasis* in setting off, and sounds very well, but yet we are not told of any of the particulars propos'd; nor find other Argument than his Lordship's *ipse Dixit*, to leave our *Old Wine*, our well digested Rights, for such New Frothy Fretting Stuff, as will not fail to Pall Mens Stomach's, and Intoxicate their Heads; the caution doubtless our Saviour design'd from that Simile. However the advice which follows is very good, viz. To Trust to Providence, which indeed is all we have had to trust to from that hour to this, and for ought I see must still depend upon the same extraordinary dispensations of Divine Goodness, to prevent our being Defeated by the soweriness of such unreasonable Men, in this Generation and the next too.

What I mentioned of the restiveness of the *Lower House*, tho taken ill, yet was not so regarded at Court, as to hinder their resolutions of supplying all the dead and living vacancies, by such tractable dispositions as should not too positively adhere to our *Old Establishments*, when matters were ripe for any new measures: and accordingly the whole set was of the aforesaid Cam-

bridge Party (except one, who yet fitted between that and *Oxon*, as afterwards between *Non-Con* and *Conformity*) most of whom must be acknowledged persons of many commendable Accomplishments; *Natural, Moral and Divine*; which being accompanied with that *Latitude* they always appeared for in *Church concerns*, had so lucky a Co-incidence with the *Revolution* then on foot, as they seem'd exactly calculated for the several new aspects our Government was coming under; and if they prov'd rather more than less *Passive*, to whatever *King William* propos'd, than some severely censur'd upon that account in former Reigns; it may be look'd upon as a grateful return for an advance, which could have been expected only in his.

So long therefore as he continued on the Throne, something of an implicit compliance, not to term it *Faith*, might be expected, and was readily yeilded to: But as my Lord *Bacon* observes *Great places are, many times, to be otherwise manag'd, than acquired*; And since their Grand Patron *King William*, could not procure that nigher approach to some Foreign Protestant Churches, which tho not in his *Declaration*; the *Dissenters* tell us, was ever in design, to prosecute the like *Dutch Projects* under her present Majesty, who declared at first, her heart entirely *English*; speaks a prejudice with too little of an *English Heart*, not to say *Religion*: and moreover looks like something of Disatisfaction in that solemn Engagement of her Royal Word, to preserve the Church in all its *Antient Rights*: without the least infracti^on upon the *Dissenters Liberty*; than which no reasonable Man can demand more, of what party soever; and if any do, they can design no good either to the Church or her Majesty: At leastwise let us suspend till we see the Event of our *State Coalition*, our *Persons and Fortunes, Men and Money*, are already deeply engaged; and ought we not to expect how Religiously those Alliances will be observ'd, and how end at last, if ever; before we venture our Souls upon so loose a Bottom.

But to harp no longer upon so melancholly a string; I shall conclude all with this one Remark: That our *English Nation* hath been all along ridiculed by most of its Neighbours, for an *Inconstancy of Humour*, and vain affectation of every foreign novelty, and that not only in trivial matters, as *Habit, Gesture, Eating, Drinking* and the like, (tho whether it be *War, Want* or both, our Gallants are nothing nigh so fond off *French Fashions* as formerly) but in concerns of much greater moment. 'Tis thought that *Grand Rebellion* which brought the whole Nation

Nation upon the very brink of Destruction, was more especially enterpris'd by a Company of conceited *Demagoges*, in admiration of what they call a *Free State in the Low Countries*, without knowing or enquiring, upon what *necessities* it was first founded, and that they have ever since continued under the like *necessities*; and so must do as long as they have a Being: Tho at length we are come to an experimental knowledge of them in one main Point, their *Taxes*.

So likewise our *Religious Novelists*, how zealous were they for the *Geneva Cut*, and to be habited in their most solemn Attendance upon *Divine Worship*: like *Swiss* or *Dutch Boores*, without any regard to that *Oder, Decency, and Beauty of Holiness*, the Scripture expressly recommends. And 'tis strang there should be any need at this time of day to inform us, what a condition our *Church* was brought to, when these admirers of *Foreign Modes*, got so much power as to enforce upon us, not only those ways of *Worship*: but *Discipline and Doctrine* too; How little of moderation was in their *Tempers*, how void of Reason, Justice, and Christian Charity, were all their proceedings? What affinity was there between their *Covenant* and the *Inquisition, Consistory and Conclave*? might not their *Plunderings, and Sequestrations* be a precedent for the *French Draggoning*? and in a word that execrable deed on the 30th of *January* in many *Circumstances* out-do; what the 5th of *November* design'd. Numberless such like parallels as these might be made between our *Popish and Protestant Recusants*, so that to me it seems most surprizing, persons always pretending to much larger thoughts than others, a *Free and Impartial Judgment of things*, should after all continue under such prejudices of *Extraction and Education, Faction and Party*, as to imagin, that tho got off the *Roman Scylla*, we can ever expect any thing of *Peace or Settlement* if continually vering to the *Fanatick Charybdis*; Good God shall we never have *Pilots* knowing enough to *Steeer* an even Course between both? for 'tis doubtless in the *Politick and Ecclesiastical as natural*; where if the same *Body* be incident to two *Chronical Distempers* equally dangerous, the *Gout, and the Stone* for Instance, every wise and good *Physician*, will be careful to suppress the *Malignant Humors* which feed the one, without suffering the other to take the least advantage of a fresh *Ferment*; and the judicious *Tully* recommends the same course to their own *Commonwealth*, from his *Admired Plato*, and may from both their *Authorities*,

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be transferr'd to any other Government whatsoever, either Spiritual, or Temporal, to be sure nothing can be more applicable to ours, as it now stands. *Omnino, qui Reipublica praefuturi sunt, duo Platonis praecepta teneant. Unum, ut utilitatem Civium sic tueantur, ut quaecunque agant, ad eam referant. Obliti commodorum suorum: Alterum, ut totum Corpus Reipublicae curent: ne, dum partem aliquam tueantur, reliquas deserant.* There are (saith he) two precepts of Plato to be observed by all Men of Authority in any Government. The one is, in such sort to assert and defend the Publick Interest, that all their Actions should refer to that, without any regard to their own advantage. The other is, to attend the Service of the whole, with an Universal regard, that while they are serving one part, they do not abandon another.

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I shall add but one Authority more, much nigher in Time and Place, for 'tis from our great Sir Philip Sidney, who in that vigorous opposition he made to Queen Elizabeth's Match with the French Monsieur, the Duke of Alanson, which saith my Author, he manag'd with that Sincerity, Ingenuity, Freedom, Duty, and profound respect, as at the same time both angred and pleas'd her Majesty, among other Topicks, he insisted upon none more than the concerns of Religion, making it appear that their different perswasions therein would oblige the Queen to quit the reputation of a good Protestant, or the Honour of an obedient Wife, and thereupon lays down Ten ways, whereby any Foreign Prince in such circumstances, (and 'tis as true of any Domestick differing Party or Power) may endanger the Establish'd Religion. My purpose requires only the mentioning his 3d. way of effecting this mischief: viz. By Latitude and Connivance, from whence 'tis most obvious to observe how in that Wise and Happy Reign, Latitude was not thought a Prudent Act of Church Administration, and the other, Connivance falls under as ill a censure, yet to me it seems altogether the same in Sence with our Modern Moderation.



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